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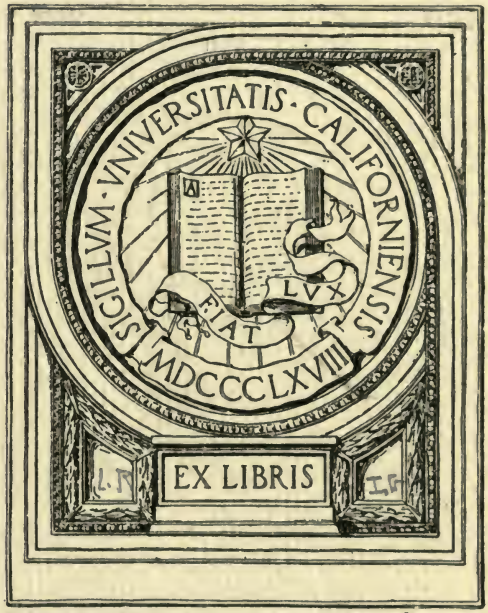

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A MANUAL OF DEBATE

BY

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To

E. S. T.

WITHOUT WHOSE GENTLE INSISTENCE

THE BOOK WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN WRITTEN

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Thomas, Debate

W. P. 1

PREFACE

In compiling this book, the aim has been to make a compact manual for beginners in debate. With this aim in view, many of the technicalities of Logic and Argumentation have been omitted, and only those logical forms have been included which seem essential. The advantage of such a book should be to give pupils enough of the theory to make their practice debates intellectually profitable, and to do this without unnecessary loss of time.

The Manual is intended for use as a drill book. Hence, in immediate connection with each logical form is given the method of its refutation; examples are added for practice; and the Summary is in the form of a table for ready reference. This table should ultimately be committed to memory. By careful study of the forms and their refutations, and with sufficient practice, the debater should be able to recognize the logical forms of the arguments presented by an opponent, and each form should then suggest its possible refutation. For instance, on hearing an argument from Example, the debater should be able to recognize the logical form at once, and he should also know at just what point in the example to look for the only possible fallacy. To

gain this ability, there must be continuous drill on the logical forms, and on the methods of refutation.

The head-on briefs, and the arguments from intercollegiate debates, have been included in order to illustrate how the principles of the subject actually work out in practice. In the work of the course, these should be carefully analyzed.

The system of training set forth in the following pages has been carefully worked out in class room practice. It has been found efficient in preparation for debate. It adds interest to the study of argumentation.

In preparing this Manual, the author has consulted many authorities, and has received many helpful suggestions from various sources. So far as possible, he has tried to acknowledge these in the text, by appropriate footnotes and references. Acknowledgment is also due Messrs. D. Appleton & Company for permission to use extracts from *Essays and Speeches of Jeremiah A. Black;* and to Messrs. Longmans, Green & Company, Funk & Wagnalls Company, The Century Company, and Charles Scribner's Sons for permission to use extracts from their publications.

HAMILTON, N. Y.

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A MANUAL OF DEBATE

CHAPTER I

DEFINITIONS

To an accurate conception of this subject, definitions are essential. At the outset, it is necessary to discriminate between three terms: Logic, Argument, Debate.

A. Logic Is the Science of Correct Thinking

In its literal significance, logic is the broadest of the three terms. But in its common use, it denotes the science of correct reasoning. Pure, or formal, logic is not concerned with the truth or falsity of a proposition. Both sides of an absolute proposition cannot be true, yet each may be logically supported. The sole concern of formal logic is the correctness of the relation between instances and hypothesis, or between premises and conclusion. It is purely an intellectual concept; it excludes entirely the appeal to the emotions and to the will.

B. Argument Is the Logical Test of Truth

Argument is concerned, not only with the logical correctness of the process, but also with the result, which is to induce belief in the truth or falsity of a proposition. It includes, also, the rhetorical element of adapting the process to the requirements of the audience, and hence, it may properly take into account the emotions and the will.

C. Debate Is Oral Argument

An isolated magazine article may be argument, but the term debate, as used in this Manual, requires the direct personal presence and participation of the one who argues. Debate may be informal, as in conversation, or it may be formal, and conducted in accordance with rules of order.

The fact that Debate is carried on in the immediate presence of opponents and an audience, differentiates it in form from both logic and argument. Debate should be fervid, direct, and personal.

CHAPTER II

THE QUESTION

A. The Selection of the Question

In the selection of a question, there is no better guide than interest. On this account:

(1) *Avoid a subject of no interest in itself, or of no interest to the debaters.* This is not to be understood as excluding any one class of questions, for interest is frequently dependent on special circumstances. Thus, whether Hamlet was insane would have small interest for the average debating class. But in a company of students of Shakespeare, such a question could hardly fail to call out effective debate. Interest is not dependent on current discussion in any one country; it depends rather on the occasion, and on the debaters themselves.

(2) *Avoid a proposition that can neither be proved, nor disproved, satisfactorily.* Not many questions can be absolutely sustained on either side, but many questions can be argued so definitely that a judge may, with some confidence, render a decision. For example, it would be difficult, within the limits of ordinary debate, to prove that the world is growing morally better. On the other hand, it is quite possible, within such limits, to show either the desirability, or the undesirability, of com-

pulsory arbitration in disputes between labor and capital.

In general, it may be said that the broader its significance and application, the less likely will the question be to arouse effective debate. As a rule, the issue should be confined within narrow limits.

(3) *Avoid a proposition that allows play on words.* An ambiguous proposition is fatal to effective debate. Hence, the question should, in its essential significance, mean the same thing to all concerned. For instance, it would be difficult to discuss, satisfactorily, the "Boss" in politics, because so few people agree on the meaning of the term "Boss," when used in connection with politics. Of one man, most will say promptly that he is a Boss, and of another, that he is not, while as to a large number of men in public life, little agreement among debaters would be found. If such a question were to be made the subject of formal debate, there would be great danger of the arguments of the different sides not meeting, because the debaters would be holding different ideas for the same word. Debate should not quibble over words; it should discuss issues.

(4) *Avoid a resolution which has not a fair argument on each side.* In spite of all theorizing about debating for the sake of debate, the average man wants a chance to win; and, furthermore, it is but fair that he should have an even chance to win. Hence, if on the first statement, a question seems too one-sided, it should be changed in form until it becomes a debatable resolu-

tion. For example, take the statement: Resolved, that Utah should be deprived of statehood. This weighs very strongly in favor of the negative, but by the addition of a single clause, it becomes a fairly debatable proposition, thus: Resolved, that, waiving constitutional considerations, Utah should be deprived of statehood.

The usual method of selecting the resolutions for intercollegiate debates is well contrived to secure a proper balance between the sides. In these debates, one contestant proposes the resolution, and the other has the choice of sides: a debatable question usually results.

B. The Statement of the Question

Having found an interesting proposition, which may be exactly worded, and to sustain which, definite proofs may be adduced, we next consider the proper statement of the question.

(1) *The question should be stated in the form of a single affirmative resolution.*

(2) *The exact meaning, limits, and extent of the resolution should be definitely determined. Mere technicalities should be eliminated, and the discussion confined to the one vital issue.*

(3) *When necessary, define terms so that they shall have the same meaning to all contestants.*

(4) *State the precise point at issue so clearly that it cannot be misunderstood.*

This last precept really sums up all that may be said regarding the statement of the question. If the resolu-

tion is debatable, it implies a difference of opinion on its merits. This precise point at issue should appear clearly in the statement. In the informal debates of life, the questions in dispute cannot be formulated, because they arise spontaneously. But many times, when one has the skill to reduce such issues to exact terms, it appears, either that there is no difference of opinion on the issue as stated, or that the disputants are discussing entirely different concepts. In preparing a resolution for a formal debate, we should proceed in the spirit of Quintilian, and present the issue, not in language that may be understood, but so precisely that it cannot be misunderstood. The first step toward an efficient debate is taken in drafting the resolution.

READING MAKETH A FULL MAN; CONFERENCE, A READY MAN; AND WRITING, AN EXACT MAN. AND, THEREFORE, IF A MAN WRITE LITTLE, HE HAD NEED HAVE A GREAT MEMORY; IF HE CONFER LITTLE, HE HAD NEED HAVE A PRESENT WIT; AND IF HE READ LITTLE, HE HAD NEED HAVE MUCH CUNNING TO SEEM TO KNOW WHAT HE DOTH NOT.—Bacon: *Essay on Studies.*

CHAPTER III

PREPARATION

A. Sources of Material

(1) *Reading.* In preparation for the discussion of the resolution, much reading is necessary, and in this stage of the preparation, certain precepts should be held in mind:

First. In reading, search for the essentials. Much that is of little value comes under the eye of one who is preparing for a debate. It is very necessary rightly to estimate what one reads, to grasp the principles, carefully to classify the facts and examples, and also to throw aside that which is to no purpose.

Second. Read both sides of the question. This is especially necessary for purposes of effective refutation. He who knows only his own side is poorly prepared for a contest, and one can do little effective refutation who is not familiar with the arguments on both sides of the question at issue.

Third. Read yourself full of the subject. Careful and systematic reading until the mind is full of the entire subject is an essential condition of fluent and effective debate. "If he read little," said Bacon, "he had need have much cunning to seem to know what he doth not."

(2) *Conversation.* After a man has read the subject, let him talk it over with those whose opinions he respects. An earnest conversation will strike out many a valuable suggestion which may afterward find its proper place in the argument. This is a source of material most valuable in its results, and which is right at hand for everyone; yet, because it is so common, perhaps no method of preparation is more generally overlooked.

(3) *Reflection.* With reading, and conversation, there should of course be reflection. The debater should think out his own line of argument. Nothing is more patent to the trained observer of a debate than the method by which the debater has prepared for his work. Not the wide reader, with his store of unassimilated facts, and his glib reproductions of the arguments of others, but he who has learned how to assimilate knowledge and make it his own, is the real master in the contest. By this process, he is able to analyze the issue into its coördinate elements, to mass his facts and arguments correctly under their respective principles, and to bind all together with the strong ties of his own personality, until his argument shall be a unity, fused and vitalized by his own intellectual labor.

B. Making the Brief

Having gathered his material, the student is now ready to consider the second step in the preparation for debate, which is the making of a brief.

A written brief is necessary to a well-ordered argument. It is the best evidence that order has come out of the chaos of facts and principles and illustrations that have been gathered in preparation. It gives to debate what the outline gives to the essay,—progress and logical sequence.

The fundamental elements of a brief are: (1) the Introduction; (2) the Argument; (3) the Conclusion.

(1) *The introduction.* In the brief for the affirmative, the exact point at issue should appear in the introduction. Here, also, should be presented any statement of fact that has been agreed upon, any definition that has been formulated, and here, also, possible side issues should be eliminated.

A formal introduction is not often necessary to the brief for the Negative.

(2) *The argument.* The body of the brief should develop the argument by a series of main heads, and sub-heads whose relations are shown by letters and numerals, the whole brief being in tabulated form. In stating the main heads of a brief, wherever possible throw each head into the form of the minor premise of a syllogism whose conclusion is the resolution it is desired to establish. Each main point should state a reason for the conclusion, and each sub-point, a reason for the point under which it stands. To emphasize this function, the word "for" is commonly used to introduce the statement of a minor point in a brief. This actual formulation of the syllogism implied in

each point will give to the argument, as a whole, the effect of a closely knit logical connection.

As an example of the application of the syllogistic test to a brief, take the brief on page 22, on the election of U. S. Senators by direct vote of the people.

The first point in the affirmative brief is: Popular election would increase the responsibility of U. S. Senators to their constituents. To justify the inclusion of this point in the brief, the student should use such reasoning as the following:

Major premise. Whatever will increase the responsibility of U. S. Senators to their constituents is desirable.

Minor premise. Popular election will increase the responsibility of U. S. Senators to their constituents.

Conclusion. Popular election of U. S. Senators is desirable.

So with the second point in the same brief:

Major premise. Whatever will improve the character of U. S. Senators is desirable.

Minor premise. Popular election will improve the character of U. S. Senators.

Conclusion. Popular election of U. S. Senators is desirable.

This makes a severely logical test for all briefs submitted.

The coördination of the points, in arranging a brief, should receive attention. Properly to do this, one must form the habit of estimating the weight of arguments. He should be able to recognize which are coördinate in importance, and which are subordinate. The brief should also show the logical development of the argu-

ment, and here, the Law of Climax may be taken into account, though, in debate, it is not always followed.

The points in a brief should be stated as concisely as possible, consistent with clearness, and in each point the statement should emphasize the main issue. Where briefs are exchanged before the debate, there should be an effort to have the points meet each other squarely. This insures a head-on debate when the question is publicly discussed.

(3) *The conclusion.* The function of the conclusion is to summarize the entire argument, and to emphasize its unity. Many times, a terse, cogent restatement of the points in a brief makes the most satisfactory conclusion.

In making a brief, such care in expression, and in mechanical neatness, should be taken as will make it a satisfactory exercise in English Composition.

C. Forms of Briefs

The principles, as stated above, for the making of briefs, are exemplified in the following:

I. BRIEF FOR THE AFFIRMATIVE

Resolved: That United States Senators should be elected by direct vote of the people.

A. Introduction

1. It is conceded that the spirit of this proposition to elect United States Senators by direct vote of the peo-

ple may be carried out without an additional amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

2. The main issue is the expediency of the expression by the people, directly at the polls, of their preference as to who should represent them in the United States Senate.

B. Argument

1. Popular election would increase the responsibility of United States Senators to their constituents; for,
   - *a.* Appeals for election would have to be made directly to the people.
   - *b.* Constituents would pass directly upon the records of Senators.

2. Popular election would improve the character of Senators; for,
   - *a.* It would eliminate the activities of political organizations whereby bosses, and men of wealth, are sent to the Senate as the result of corrupt bargains.
   - *b.* It would make the people directly responsible for the character of their Senators so that only men of intellect and character would be selected.

3. Popular election of Senators would tend to purify State politics; for,
   - *a.* It would separate State and National issues.
   - *b.* It would eliminate improper machine methods such as bribery, and the gerrymander.

4. Popular election would make it impossible for a State to be unrepresented for any considerable length of time, in the United States Senate; for,

a. There could be no legislative deadlock.

b. There could be no indirect, or secondhand, representation, by appointment of the Governor.

5. Popular election of United States Senators is directly in line with the continuous development of our system of government; for,

a. It places the power directly in the hands of the people.

b. History shows an increasing tendency to trust the people with the direct management of their own affairs.

C. Conclusion

Since the popular election of United States Senators would increase their direct responsibility to their constituents; since it would improve the character of Senators; since it would tend to purify State politics; since it would make it impossible for a State to be unrepresented for any considerable length of time in the United States Senate; and since the popular election of United States Senators is directly in line with the continuous development of our system of government; therefore, United States Senators should be elected by direct vote of the people.

II. BRIEF FOR THE NEGATIVE

RESOLVED: That United States Senators should be elected by direct vote of the people.

A. INTRODUCTION

1. The Burden of Proof in this discussion is on the affirmative. He who asserts must prove.

2. The issue is well defined. We oppose the popular election of Senators because of the dangerous tendencies of such a change.

B. ARGUMENT

1. Experience has shown that two legislative bodies, chosen by different methods, best serve the interests of popular government; for,

   a. They give expression to the two fundamental forces in National life: progressive and conservative.

   b. They give representation to the States, as such, as well as to the people.

2. Popular election would tend to lower the character of the Senate; for,

   a. The people would be less careful than the legislatures in the selection of candidates.

   b. There would be less certainty of reëlection.

3. Popular election would increase incentives for the corruption of the franchise; for,

   a. It would add a great prize to those already given

by popular favor. Great political power and personal ambition would be involved.

b. There would be greater opportunity, with less publicity, for corruption.

4. From the adoption of the Constitution to the present time, the total period during which States have been unrepresented in the Senate, owing to the failure of their legislatures to elect Senators, has been so inconsiderable as to constitute no real cause for such a radical change; since,

a. Legislative deadlocks have been few and far between.

b. Appointments by governors have been few and temporary.

5. The present method of choosing the membership of the Senate acts as a desirable check on dangerous political tendencies; for,

a. The Senate has stood against economic and financial radicalism.

b. The Senate has stood against the growth of centralization, by standing for the independence of the States; and also for its own independence, as opposed to the rule of the House by the Speaker.

C. Conclusion

Since experience has shown that two legislative bodies, chosen by different methods, best serve the interests of popular government; since popular election

would tend to lower the character of the Senate; since it would increase incentives for the corruption of the franchise; since the total period, during which States have been unrepresented in the Senate, owing to the failure of their legislatures to elect Senators, has been so inconsiderable as to constitute no real reason for the proposed change in the method of election; and since the present method of election has been found a desirable check to dangerous political tendencies; therefore, United States Senators should not be elected by direct vote of the people.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEBATE

HAVING discussed the preparation, and the making of the Brief, we are now ready to consider the Debate.

A. OPENING THE DEBATE

(1) *Statement of issue.* In many cases, the opening speech of the first speaker on the affirmative will be expository, rather than argumentative. It rests with him to bring the audience into touch with the resolution; to make all necessary explanations; and to state any definitions, limitations, or agreements which the audience and the judges should know. After these preliminaries, he should state the main point at issue with the utmost clearness.

An admirable statement of the point at issue is found in the famous Argument on The Right to Trial by Jury, by Jeremiah S. Black, where, after a preliminary statement of the facts, Judge Black says:

"Keeping the character of the charges in mind, let us come at once to the simple question upon which the court below divided in opinion: Had the Commissioners jurisdiction—were they invested with legal authority to try the relators and put them to death for the offense of which they were accused? We answer, No; and therefore the whole proceeding, from beginning to end,

was utterly null and void. On the other hand, it is absolutely necessary for those who oppose us to assert, and they do assert, that the Commissioners had complete legal jurisdiction, both of the subject-matter and of the parties, so that their judgment upon the law and the facts is absolutely conclusive and binding, not subject to correction, nor open to inquiry in any court whatever. Of these two opposite views, you must adopt one or the other; for there is no middle ground on which you can possibly stand."

(2) *Exposition.* But he should do more than merely state the main issue of the debate. A certain amount of explanation is expected from the first speaker, and if he can make all this ancillary to the establishment of his position, he will have gained a great advantage. Of Lord Macaulay, it was said that few men understood so well "the argumentative power of facts." By this was meant, Macaulay's power of stating facts so as to make them seem to sustain the proposition he wished to establish. Now, this "argumentative power of facts" is invaluable in debate. Many think there is an advantage in the first speech. There is; but only when the debater is able to state the case so that his position will appear in the strongest possible light.

That Abraham Lincoln had this power appears from the following:

"His more usual and successful manner was to rely upon a clear, strong, lucid statement, keeping details in proper subordination, and bringing forward in a way which fastened the attention of Court and Jury alike, the essential point on which he claimed a decision. 'Indeed,' says one of his colleagues,

'his statement often rendered argument unnecessary, and often the Court would stop him and say, "If that is the case, we will hear the other side." ' "—Nicolay and Hay: *Life of Lincoln*, Vol. I, p. 307.

B. The Burden of Proof

(1) *Definition.* The burden of proof is the necessity of sustaining an assertion, or proposition, by testimony, authority, or positive argument.

(2) *The fundamental principle: He who asserts must prove.* Burden of proof rests upon the fundamental logical principle that *he who asserts must prove.* Thus, if any one asserts that United States Senators should be elected by direct vote of the people, the necessity is upon him to sustain his assertion by proof, *because he does assert.* Otherwise, the assertion falls.

This is true, even if he asserts a negative. If one asserts that Shakespeare did not write the plays commonly attributed to him, it is necessary that the maker of the negative assertion should prove it; and until he does prove it, the world will go right on attributing the authorship of the plays to Shakespeare.

The principle holds true, too, when an assertion that is negative in fact is affirmative in form, as when one pleads an alibi. In reality, he is asserting that he is not guilty of the offense charged, because he was not at the place where the offense was committed, at the time when it was committed. In form, however, he asserts an affirmative: that he was at another place at the time in question, and hence, the obligation is on him to prove it.

(3) *The complement: One is never obliged to prove the negative of an assertion.* As the complement of the principle that *he who asserts must prove* stands the further principle that *one is never obliged to prove the negative of an assertion.* Until an assertion is proved, it is of no effect in debate, and there is no necessity of discussing it. And besides, it would be manifestly unfair to compel a man to prove a proposition in the statement of which he had no choice. He who asserts has the choice of position, and common fairness requires that he should be obliged to prove the assertion of his own free choice.

(4) *Shifting the burden of proof.* Whenever the side that has not the burden of proof, originally, advances positive argument, it thereby assumes the burden of proof, and must establish its assertions. Thus, the burden of proof shifts from one side to the other; and rebuttal should be an effort to shift the burden to the other side.

(5) *Presumption: Definition and examples.* A presumption is something, which, independently of proof, inclines one to believe that an assertion is true.

In the United States, a written constitution is presumed to be better than an unwritten one, and the presumption is against an income tax, and also against woman suffrage. The presumption is also against a Free Trade Tariff policy. But in England, the presumption would be on the side of an unwritten constitution, of an income tax, and also in favor of Free

Trade. But it would probably be against woman suffrage.

(6) *The relation of burden of proof to presumption.* It is frequently stated that the burden of proof always lies on the side of him who would dispute a presumption, but this position seems fallacious. A presumption may be weak, or it may be strong, and it may be on either side, or on neither, without affecting the burden of proof. A few years ago, there was a presumption in favor of the assertion that the Mormon Church is unfriendly to the United States Government, but this did not place the burden of proof on the Mormon Church. He who asserts must prove. And this is so in spite of any presumption that may be involved.

Legal presumptions, such as the one that a man shall be presumed innocent until he is proved guilty, seem sometimes to locate the burden of proof, but it is to be remembered that these presumptions are technical in their nature, and have been formulated arbitrarily to meet specific conditions in the law. As matter of fact, the presumption above quoted never relieves a prisoner from asserting his innocence, and of sustaining his assertion by evidence and argument. Legal presumptions are not to be applied to the question of Burden of Proof in general debate.

"A presumption in favor of one side does *not* throw the burden of proof on the other. The cases supposed to establish that it does are either cases in which the presumption is restricted by the character and provisions of law, or in which two questions

are confounded, the burden of proof standing opposed to the presumption in one of the questions, and being, therefore, assumed as doing so in the other. The presumption as to a question may be on either side, according to the nature of things, or the circumstances of the case; there may be on different grounds, presumption on both sides, but the burden of proof is always on him who alleges." J. A. Broadus: *Homiletics*, p. 172.

(7) *The importance of the burden of proof.* Theoretically, he who refutes the arguments of one who asserts, may claim the decision, even though he puts forward no arguments of his own. He is not obliged to prove the negative of the assertion. Ordinarily, of course, it is expedient to advance positive argument in such a case, and to assume to that extent, the burden of proof. Failure to do this would be liable to create an assumption in the minds of the audience that the debaters were not prepared to argue the immediate point at issue, and this might put the result of the debate in danger. But that the theory of the burden of proof occasionally decides a debate in actual practice, was seen in the case of an intercollegiate debate on the following proposition: "That, aside from the question of amending the Constitution, it is desirable that the regulating power of Congress should be extended to all corporations whose capitalization exceeds one million dollars." The decision, by a distinguished jurist, was for the negative, on the ground that the affirmative failed to show that such corporations should be placed under the control of the United States Government,

because they were capitalized at one million dollars, although the negative submitted no argument whatever on that point. Such decisions are rare, however, and the main consideration regarding the burden of proof is that it should be held clearly in mind by both sides. It may not be formally located during the debate; but its influence on the discussion should be real, and in no case should the debaters lose sight of the principle.

EXAMPLE

(Burden of proof sustained by positive argument.)

"Our proposition ought to be received as true without any argument to support it; because, if that, or something precisely equivalent to it, be not a part of our law, this is not what we have always supposed it to be, a free country. Nevertheless, I take upon myself the burden of showing affirmatively not only that it is true, but that it is immovably fixed in the very framework of the government, so that it is utterly impossible to detach it without destroying the whole political structure under which we live. By removing it, you destroy the life of this nation as completely as you would destroy the life of an individual by cutting the heart out of his body. I proceed to the proof."—Jeremiah S. Black: *The Right to Trial by Jury.*

C. THE POINTS, OR ARGUMENTS

As this portion of the debate is the expansion of the body of the brief, all the principles noted in the discussion of that subject apply here, and it will be well also for the speaker to hold in mind the following principles of debate:

(1) *There should be few main points.* Beginners in debate commonly suppose that the presentation of many points strengthens argument, but the number of points has little to do with the decision; only the points proved are of value. To know when a point is really established requires some experience in weighing arguments and proofs; and it is a sign of growing power in debate when one is satisfied to devote his entire time to the proof of one or two points. Out of this consideration, comes another debate principle:

(2) *The points as stated should be maintained, or established.* Debates usually turn on a few points, and nothing is more puerile than the recounting of point after point with little or no effort at sustaining argument. Before leaving any point that he has stated, the debater should exhaust his resources in the endeavor to establish it so firmly that it cannot be overthrown.

(3) *Each point should be briefly expressed, complete in itself, and distinct from all other points.* The argument should be adapted to the hearer's ability to grasp a course of reasoning, and as that ability is limited, and he has but the single opportunity to catch the point, the reasoning must not be too abstruse. If the point is complete in itself, and if it excludes all other points, it can be grasped, and held in mind, more readily.

(4) *Make clear the bearing of each point on the main issue.* This is but a restatement of the principle given above regarding the making of a brief, to the effect that each main point should state a reason for the con-

clusion. Or, to put it in another way, each main heading should be one premise of a syllogism whose conclusion is the decision urged by the debater. As already noted, such statements give to the brief a strong effect of unity; and they have the like effect on the debate. Much of the loose incomplete effect often felt in oral argument is the result of the speaker's failure consciously to complete his syllogism, since, if the debater fails to connect his reasons with his conclusions, his hearer can scarcely be expected to supply the links for him.

D. Logical Forms Used in Debate

In the rough and ready work of actual debate, not much account is consciously taken of logical forms, yet a knowledge of such forms is essential to effective reasoning. For an extended discussion of argumentation, the student is referred to the text-books on that subject. The sole purpose here is to give a concise statement of the logical forms commonly used in debate, and also to give in connection with each form the logical method by which it must be answered, if answer be possible. By study and practice, this statement should be made so familiar, that each logical form will suggest its own best answer. The practical value of such an equipment for the actual work of debate does not need to be emphasized.

Logically, the inductive order of reasoning precedes the deductive order. In debate, however, the deductive

order is so much more commonly used that it seems preferable to consider it first.

I. CONSTRUCTIVE FORMS

I. ***The deductive order: Definition.*** The deductive order is that by which a conclusion is drawn from a general principle or universal truth.

1. THE SYLLOGISM

a. **Definition.** The syllogism is the logical form in which deductive arguments are usually stated. As a logical form, the syllogism consists of three parts: the major premise, the minor premise, and the conclusion. It must also contain three terms: the major term, the minor term, and the middle term.

b. **Analysis:**

The major premise contains the major and the middle terms.

The minor premise contains the minor and the middle terms.

The conclusion is the logical deduction from the premises and consists of the major and minor terms.

Of most syllogisms it is true that the:

Major premise is the statement of a general principle, or universal truth, or fact; and that the

Minor premise is the statement of a particular within the general statement of the major premise.

EXAMPLES OF THE SYLLOGISM

Major premise. Institutions that have outlived their usefulness should be abolished.

Minor premise. Trial by jury has outlived its usefulness.

Conclusion. Trial by jury should be abolished.

Now, that is the complete logical form of the syllogism, and in this complete form, it does not often appear in debates; yet this complete form must be the framework of every logical argument founded on a general statement. To insure this, the pupil should carefully analyze each one of the points he proposes to advance until he sees its exact relation to the proper syllogism. To this end, it is necessary to state formally, in the case of each point, the premises and conclusion of the syllogism, so that the point advanced shall stand as one of the premises, usually the minor premise. This valuable exercise has been named Logical Parsing.

"America, gentlemen say, is a noble object. It is an object well worth fighting for. Certainly it is, if fighting a people be the best way of gaining them."—Burke: *Conciliation with the Colonies.*

This, in logical form, appears as follows:

Major premise. Desirable colonies can best be held by force.

Minor premise. The American Colonies are desirable colonies.

Conclusion. The American Colonies can best be held by force.

Burke attacks the major premise of this syllogism, showing:

1. There is a better way.
2. Force is temporary.
3. Force is uncertain.
4. Force impairs the object by its endeavors to preserve it.
5. We have had no experience in the use of force as an instrument in the rule of our colonies.
6. The temper and character of the Americans make the use of force inadvisable.

"My hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties, which, though light

as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the Colonists always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government,—they will cling and grapple to you, and no force under Heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood that your government may be one thing, and their privileges another, that these two things may exist without any mutual relation, the cement is gone—the cohesion is loosened—and everything hastens to decay and dissolution. . . . Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom."

[To show the value of the American Colonies to England, Burke submits the present and growing numbers of people in the colonies; their vast and rapidly increasing commerce; their agriculture, already necessary to the Old World; the abounding wealth and the spirit of their fisheries; and concludes:] "When I see how profitable they [the colonies] have been to us, I feel all the pride of power sink. . . . My rigour relents. I pardon something to the spirit of liberty.

"My idea, therefore, without considering whether we yield as matter of right, or grant as matter of favor, is to admit the people of our Colonies into an interest in the Constitution; and by recording that admission in the journals of Parliament, to give them as strong an assurance as the nature of the thing will admit, that we mean forever to adhere to that solemn declaration of systematic indulgence."

The above extracts indicate the syllogism around which Burke built up his constructive argument in his Speech on Conciliation with the Colonies. Put into logical form, the argument appears as follows:

Major premise. Desirable colonies can be most wisely held by conciliatory concession.

Minor premise. The American colonies are desirable colonies.

Conclusion. The American colonies can be most wisely held by conciliatory concession.

EXAMPLES TO BE LOGICALLY PARSED

1. Temperance in all things should be the rule of life, for excess causes disease.

2. Trial by jury should be abolished, for it has outlived its usefulness.

3. Municipal government is a business, and it should, therefore, be nonpartisan.

4. Trades Unions should be prohibited by law from refusing to their members the right to join the National Guard.

5. The Federal Government should establish a Parcels Post, because it would be for the convenience of the people.

6. The Chinese Exclusion policy protects our workingmen from the competition of cheap labor, and it should be rigidly maintained.

7. The Federal Government should establish Postal Savings Banks because they encourage thrift among the people.

8. The suffrage should be granted to women as a simple measure of justice.

c. **Tests of the Syllogism.** To determine whether or not a syllogism is properly constructed, two tests may be applied. These are the premise test, and the term test.

(1) *The premise test* examines the minor premise to see if it is a particular case under the general principle, or universal truth, or fact laid down in the major premise.

EXAMPLE

Major premise. Communities that enforce proper sanitary measures will put an end to yellow fever.

Minor premise. The State of Panama is a community which enforces proper sanitary measures.

Conclusion. The State of Panama will put an end to yellow fever.

In this syllogism, the State of Panama, in the minor premise, is a particular under the general statement in the major premise: the syllogism stands the premise test.

(2) *The term test* determines whether the syllogism has the necessary number of terms, and whether the terms are rightly placed.

A syllogism should have three terms, and only three terms. These are the major term, the minor term, and the middle term. The major term forms the predicate of the conclusion; the minor term forms the subject of the conclusion; the middle term is found in both premises, but not in the conclusion.

EXAMPLE

Major premise. Communities that enforce proper sanitary measures will put an end to yellow fever.

Minor premise. The State of Panama is a community which enforces proper sanitary measures.

Conclusion. The State of Panama will put an end to yellow fever.

In this syllogism, we have:

The major term: yellow fever.

The minor term: the State of Panama.

The middle term: communities that enforce sanitary measures.

And we find that the major term appears as the predicate of the conclusion; the minor term as the subject

of the conclusion; and the middle term is found in both premises and not in the conclusion. This syllogism has three, and only three terms, and they are rightly placed: it stands the term test.

The middle term must not be used in a double sense in the premises, nor may it be ambiguous, nor equivocal.

EXAMPLE

Major premise. A nuisance may be suppressed by law.
Minor premise. A bore is a nuisance.
Conclusion. A bore may be suppressed by law.

Here, the middle term—nuisance—is used in the public, or legal, sense in the major premise, and in the private, or literal, sense in the minor premise: the result is an apparent fallacy.

d. **The Syllogism in Enthymeme.** The word *enthymeme* is derived from two Greek words meaning *in mind.* A syllogism in enthymeme is, literally, one of which some part is held in mind, but not expressed.

The major premise is frequently a mere truism, and the same may be true of the minor premise. In such cases, the premise is suppressed in the interests of adaptation to the audience. This is the common form of the syllogism in debate, and it is scarcely too much to say that, whenever the word *for*, or *because*, or *therefore* occurs, an enthymeme may be looked for.

EXAMPLE

a. Major premise omitted. Prohibition statutes cannot be enforced; they should, therefore, be repealed.

b. Minor premise omitted. Prohibition statutes should be repealed; as should all statutes that cannot be enforced.

c. Conclusion omitted. Prohibition statutes cannot be enforced, and all statutes that cannot be enforced should be repealed.

Debaters should be on the alert to detect an enthymeme, for it is a favorite lurking place of fallacy. The common use of enthymemes gives added importance to the logical parsing of arguments.

EXAMPLES

1. Parse logically the enthymemes on pp. 38 and 39.
2. The office of coroner should be abolished for it has outlived its usefulness.
3. The grand jury system should be abolished for it is unwieldy and cumbersome.
4. Endowed newspapers are desirable because of their greater independence.
5. Preparation for war is the best assurance of victory, therefore Japan was victorious over Russia.
6. Universal peace is desirable, hence there should be general disarmament among the nations.
7. This man will make a good teacher for he is an accurate scholar.
8. Costly social entertainments are to be commended for they cause the distribution of money among the working people.
9. That law is unconstitutional for it is class legislation.
10. Every man should be temperate for excess is harmful.
11. He must be a Buddhist for only Buddhists believe those things.

12. "If he has never been on a quest for buried treasure, it can be demonstrated that he has never been a child."

—R. L. Stevenson: *Memories and Portraits.*

13. Cæsar deserved death for he was a tyrant.

14. The Scriptures are entitled to reverence for they come from God.

15. Kings have no friends for they have no equals.

16. Gambling implies a desire to gain by another's loss; therefore it is a violation of the tenth commandment.

17. Since street railways are public franchises, they should be owned by the city.

18. Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.

2. THE SYLLOGISM AMPLIFIED

Syllogisms may be amplified in two ways:

a. By the establishment of the premises.

b. By the chain of reasoning.

a. **By the establishment of the premises.**

No syllogism is stronger than its weakest premise. It is wise, therefore, to strengthen a premise that is liable to be attacked. In debating the syllogism on prohibition statutes, referred to above, the advocates of prohibition would attack the minor premise,—that prohibition statutes cannot be enforced. The debater should amplify this premise by adducing instances in which such legislation has proved incapable of enforcement, and also the reasons why this would seem to be so.

The application of this principle to debate is clear. The main headings advanced in the brief should be,

whenever possible, premises of syllogisms; if, then, the premises are established, the conclusion follows. The struggle grows fierce about the disputed premise. That is the key to the struggle; the side that holds it, wins.

b. **By the chain of reasoning.**

By the chain of reasoning is meant the use of the conclusion of one syllogism as a premise of another, and the conclusion of this as a premise of a third, and so on through the series until the final conclusion has been reached.

EXAMPLES

"I have a rational doubt whether some portions of this book do not lean to materialism; what leans to materialism is inconsistent with the immortality of the soul; what is inconsistent with the immortality of the soul is contrary to Scripture; but as that which contradicts Scripture does not come under the protection of the law, I have a rational doubt whether the injunction can be maintained; therefore, the injunction is dissolved."

—Lord Eldon: *From An Opinion as Lord Chancellor.*

Now, if all the links in this chain were supplied, that is, if each enthymeme were logically parsed, the process of reasoning would appear about like this:

FIRST SYLLOGISM

Major premise. Any book that leans to materialism is inconsistent with the immortality of the soul.

Minor premise. This book leans to materialism.

Conclusion. This book is inconsistent with the immortality of the soul.

Second Syllogism

(With conclusion of first syllogism as minor premise.)

Major premise. Whatever is inconsistent with the immortality of the soul is contrary to Scripture.

Minor premise. This book is inconsistent with the immortality of the soul.

Conclusion. This book is contrary to Scripture.

Third Syllogism

(With conclusion of second syllogism as minor premise.)

Major premise. Whatever is contrary to Scripture does not come under the protection of the law.

Minor premise. This book is contrary to Scripture.

Conclusion. This book does not come under the protection of the law.

Fourth Syllogism

(With conclusion of third syllogism as the minor premise.)

Major premise. Whatever does not come under the protection of the law cannot maintain an injunction.

Minor premise. This book does not come under the protection of the law.

Conclusion. This book cannot maintain an injunction: the injunction is dissolved.

"It is true, of course, that the immediate reason for accepting the beliefs of revealed religion is that the religion is revealed. But it is thought to be revealed, because it was promulgated by teachers who were inspired; the teachers were thought to be inspired because they worked miracles; and they are thought to have worked miracles because there is historical evidence of the fact which it is supposed would be more than sufficient to produce conviction in any unbiased mind."

—A. J. Balfour: *The Foundations of Belief*, p. 164.

"The Gold Standard means dearer money; dearer money means cheaper property; cheaper property means harder times; harder times means more people out of work; more people out of work means more people destitute; more people destitute means more people desperate; more people desperate means more crime."—W. J. Bryan: *The First Battle.*

"The public are a parcel of blockheads, and all blockheads are critics, and all critics are spiders, and spiders are a set of reptiles that all the world despises."—Goldsmith: *Critical Review.*

c. **Care.** The use of this form of argument in debate requires care and minute scrutiny, for, if a single premise is successfully attacked, the whole argument falls. A chain is no stronger than its weakest link. On the other hand, when the chain of reasoning is properly constructed, it gives to an argument an appearance of great strength and effectiveness.

3. HOW TO REFUTE THE SYLLOGISM

We may overthrow a syllogism by refuting either the major premise, the minor premise, or the conclusion.

a. **How to refute the major premise.** The major premise should state a general principle or universal truth. The proper method of refutation is to show that the principle is not general, or that the truth is not universal.

EXAMPLE

Major premise. All men who enter college for the first time are freshmen.

Minor premise. This man has entered college for the first time.

Conclusion. This man is a freshman.

Here the major premise alleges a universal truth; but it may be shown not to be universal by citing the case of the student B, who, because of his advanced preparation, on entering college for the first time, was admitted to the sophomore class; or of the student, D, who was admitted at first as a "special" student. This overthrows the major premise, and hence, the entire argument. It may be possible to prove that this man is a freshman, but not by this syllogism.

b. **How to refute the minor premise.** The minor premise should state a particular fact, or truth, within the field of the universal principle, or truth, laid down by the major premise. The proper method of refutation is to show that the particular fact, or truth, of the minor premise is not a particular within the general field of the major premise.

EXAMPLE

Major premise. All statutes that cannot be enforced should be repealed.

Minor premise. Prohibition statutes cannot be enforced.

Conclusion. Prohibition statutes should be repealed.

The logical attack on this syllogism should be to prove that prohibition statutes are not in the general class of statutes that cannot be enforced, that is, that the minor premise is not a particular fact under the

general truth of the major premise. Facts and arguments should be submitted to show that it is entirely possible to enforce a prohibition statute, and evidence should be submitted to show that in many cases this has been done. If this effort is successful, the syllogism is overthrown.

c. **The non sequitur.** If both premises of a syllogism are correctly stated, and cannot successfully be attacked, the form should be analyzed to see if the conclusion logically follows from the premises. When the conclusion does not so follow, the fallacy is called *non sequitur*. There are various forms of this fallacy. The type form of the *non sequitur* in the deductive order of reasoning is that in which, whether the premises are true, or are admitted for the sake of the argument, the conclusion does not logically follow.

EXAMPLE

Major premise. Tropical countries have no snow in winter.
Minor premise. Arizona has no snow in winter.
Conclusion. Arizona was gained from Mexico by conquest.

This example makes clear the fact; but, of course, such a crude *non sequitur* is rarely met with in contests of reason. The fallacy extends from such crude forms, however, to forms of the most subtle character,—forms which can be detected only by careful analysis.

EXAMPLE

In his great debate with Daniel Webster on the right of a

State to secede from the Union, Robert Y. Hayne put forward a non sequitur which was largely accepted throughout the southern States. That fallacy, stated in logical form, was:

Major premise. Any compact between sovereign States may be nullified by those States.

Minor premise. The Constitution of the United States is a compact between sovereign States.

Conclusion. Therefore, South Carolina can nullify the Constitution, and withdraw from the Union.

Webster's reply was that, conceding that the Constitution was a compact between sovereign States, it must be remembered that not one State only, but all the States are parties to that compact, and therefore, the compact can only be dissolved by unanimous consent of the States; no one State can nullify the compact nor withdraw from the Union.

d. **How to refute an enthymeme.** The first step in the refutation of an enthymeme is to write out the enthymeme in full in the form of a complete syllogism. It may then be refuted, if refutation be possible, by the methods for the refutation of the syllogism, as indicated above.

e. **How to refute a chain of reasoning.** A chain of reasoning is made up of a series of premises. It is no stronger than its weakest premise. To refute a chain of reasoning, therefore, we must find, if possible, its weakest premise, and overthrow that. For this purpose we can use all the methods for the overthrow of syllogistic reasoning given on pp. 46–48, above.

EXAMPLE

A certain well-known argument against the teaching of English literature in universities may be stated in the following form:

1. No form of art should be included in a university curriculum.

2. Art cultivates the tastes, and educates the sympathies, and you cannot examine students on studies that appeal to their tastes and sympathies.

3. And you cannot teach a subject on which you cannot examine your students, for how else can you test their knowledge?

4. It follows, then, that if you cannot teach those studies on which you cannot set examinations; and if you cannot set examinations on studies that appeal to the tastes and sympathies; and if all forms of art appeal to the tastes and sympathies then music and literature are not proper subjects to be included in the university curriculum.

This chain of reasoning could be attacked on the premise that you cannot examine students on studies that appeal to their tastes and sympathies. It could further be attacked on the premise that a subject on which you cannot set examinations, cannot be taught.

EXAMPLES

Arguments to be stated in syllogistic form.

(1) Subsidies should be paid for the development of the American merchant marine; such development is good public policy.

(2) The ends for which workingmen are striving are legitimate and proper, and the boycott is a legitimate weapon for the attainment of those ends.

(3) Intercollegiate athletic contests are great advertisers, and undoubtedly promote the best interests of colleges.

(4) Any system that equalizes the burdens of taxation is just; we should adopt an income tax as a part of the American system of taxation.

(5) The amount and character of the immigration into the United States is causing an excessive supply of certain kinds of labor; we ought further to restrict immigration by law.

Syllogistic arguments to be refuted.

Note. In each case, put the argument into the complete logical form of a syllogism; then, give method of refutation.

(1) Refute any of the arguments under 1, above.

(2) Mathematical studies are supposed to improve the reasoning powers. Debate, not being a mathematical study, could not be supposed to train the reason.

(3) A limited monarchy like that of Great Britain, is the best form of government yet devised; it comes nearest to securing the greatest good of the greatest number.

(4) In the war between Russia and Japan, Americans should have sympathized with Russia; she has always been our friend.

(5) The American Government was justified in recognizing the Republic of Panama, for the world wanted the Panama Canal.

(6) Fools, being men, are endowed with reason.

(7) Certain studies, every college student should pursue, for they are the foundations of culture.

(8) A college student should be free to choose his studies; he can profit by no study that he is forced to pursue.

(9) Before the organization of Trades Unions in this country, wages were low; Trades Unions have raised wages.

II. ***The inductive order: Definition.*** Inductive argument is the inference of a general conclusion from particular cases.

EXAMPLE

A farmer noticed that the first crops of apples from the young trees of a certain variety would not keep well during the winter, while the crops from the older trees of the same variety kept in prime condition. Observing the matter further, he found this

to be true of many varieties of winter apples, and he came to the conclusion that the fruit of young apple trees cannot be kept in prime condition during the winter.

In using the inductive form, the chief danger is in drawing a conclusion from too few particulars.

The chief agent of the inductive form is

1. THE HYPOTHESIS

a. **Definition.** The *Hypothesis* is a provisional theory adopted to account for some fact or combination of related facts.

When proved the hypothesis becomes, in the inductive form, the conclusion; it may become, in the deductive form, a premise.

EXAMPLE

"Knowledge, such as you now possess, has caused philosophers, in speculating on the mode in which the sun's power is maintained, to suppose *the solar heat and light to be caused by the showering down of meteoric matter upon the sun's surface.*"

—Tyndall: *Heat Considered as a Mode of Motion.*

The meteoric theory is an hypothesis, that is, a provisional theory adopted to account for the maintenance of the sun's light and heat. Since perfect induction is an inference based on all possible particulars, this hypothesis could not be proved. Nor is proof necessary; in such cases probability may be accepted.

2. THE COMMON FORMS OF INDUCTIVE ARGUMENT ARE:

a. **The argument from cause to effect.** By this form

is meant that from a certain cause, a certain result has come.

EXAMPLES

Close attention to business, care in the use of money, ability to estimate rightly demand and supply, prudence in making investments, good executive ability,—all these are recognized as elements of business success.

"Sir, there are two passions which have a powerful influence in the affairs of men. These are *ambition* and *avarice;* the love of power and the love of money. Separately, each of these has great force in prompting men to action; but when united, in view of the same object, they have in many minds the most violent effects. Place before the eyes of such men a post of honor, that shall at the same time be a place of profit, and they will remove heaven and earth to obtain it."—B. Franklin: *Speech Before the Constitutional Convention.*

"This fierce spirit of liberty is stronger in the English Colonies, probably, than in any other people of the earth, and this from a great variety of powerful causes. . . .

"Then, sir, from these six capital sources—of descent, of form of government, of religion in the northern provinces, of manners in the southern, of education, of the remoteness of situation from the first mover of government—from all these causes, a fierce spirit of liberty has grown up."—Burke: *On Conciliation with the Colonies.*

b. **The argument from effect to cause.** By this form is meant that from a known effect the existence of a certain cause can be inferred.

EXAMPLES

"In the amphitheater of a medical college in the city of New York, some time ago, scores of students had gathered to see the

result of a remarkable diagnosis. By an accident the patient, an intelligent physician, had been stricken with paralysis. In the short period of a day, he had lost control of limbs, body, arms, brain. Even the power of speech was denied him. He forgot the very alphabet. To restore him was to solve a new problem in science. The surgeon did it. Upon the skull of the patient he measured off a triangle. Then he reasoned,—as exact as geometry, as inexorable as algebra. The symptoms, movements, actions of the patient,—these were the theorems and corollaries on which was based this marvelous demonstration. So he located the source, and on the indicated spot—hidden away among the convolutions of the brain—they found the cause of trouble and removed it. Three months later the paralytic walked across the room, and spoke the alphabet."

In using these forms from cause to effect and from effect to cause, care must be taken not to mistake mere signs for causes. The alleged cause must be real and adequate, and there must be no external circumstances to interfere with the working of the causal force.

The following passage is a striking warning against the acceptance of the conclusions of cause and effect arguments, without the most careful examination and analysis:

"One is fortified against the acceptance of unreasonable propositions only by skill in determining facts through observation and experience, by practice in comparing facts or groups of facts, and by the unvarying habit of questioning and verifying allegations, and of distinguishing between facts and inferences from facts, and between a true cause and an antecedent event. One must have direct training and practice in logical speech and writing before he can be quite safe against specious rhetoric and imaginative oratory. Many popular delusions are founded on

the commonest of fallacies—this preceded that, therefore this caused that; or, in shorter phrase, what preceded, caused. For example: I was sick; I took such and such a medicine and became well; therefore the medicine cured me. During the Civil War the Government issued many millions of paper money, and some men became very rich; therefore, the way to make all men richer must be to issue from the Government presses an indefinite amount of paper money. The wages of American workingmen are higher than those of English in the same trades; protection has been the policy of the United States and approximate free trade the policy of England; therefore high tariffs cause high wages. Bessemer steel is much cheaper now than it was twenty years ago; there has been a tariff tax on Bessemer steel in the United States for the past twenty years; therefore, the tax cheapened the steel. England, France, and Germany are civilized and prosperous nations; they have enormous public debts; therefore a public debt is a public blessing. He must carry Ithuriel's spear and wear stout armor who can always expose and resist this fallacy. It is not only the uneducated or the little educated that are vanquished by it. There are many educated people who have little better protection against delusions and sophisms than the uneducated; for the simple reason that their education, though prolonged and elaborate, was still not of a kind to train their judgment and reasoning powers."
—President Charles W. Eliot: *The Forum*, Vol. XIV, pp. 423, 424.

(1) *How to Refute the Cause and Effect Forms.*

To refute the cause and effect form we must show:

(*a*) Nonexistence of the alleged cause; or

(*b*) The inadequacy of the alleged cause to produce the effect claimed; or

(*c*) A counteracting force sufficient to nullify the alleged cause.

From this, it will appear that fallacious cause and effect arguments may be divided into three classes according to the principles by which the fallacies are exposed.

Classes of Fallacious Cause and Effect Arguments

(*a*) First class: Those which may be refuted by showing the nonexistence of the alleged cause.

Examples of the First Class

1. "If it rains on St. Swithin's Day, it will rain every day for forty days thereafter."

(The weather bureau has announced that this venerable cause and effect tradition has proved true once in thirty-nine years.)

2. "Jim said you mustn't count the things you are going to cook for dinner because that would bring bad luck. The same, if you shook a tablecloth after sundown. And he said, if a man owned a beehive, and that man died, the bees must be told about it before sun-up the next morning, or else the bees would all weaken down, and quit work, and die."—Mark Twain: *Huckleberry Finn.*

3. "The standard example of this fallacy is the old Kentish peasant's argument that Tenterden Steeple was the cause of Goodwin Sands. Sir Thomas More (as Latimer tells the story in one of his sermons to ridicule incautious inference) had been sent down into Kent as a Commissioner to inquire into the cause of the silting up of Sandwich Haven. Among those who came to his Court was the oldest inhabitant, and thinking that he, from his great age must at least have seen more than anybody else, More asked him what he had to say as to the cause of the Sands. 'Forsooth, Sir,' was the graybeard's answer, 'I am an old man: I think that Tenterden Steeple is the cause of Goodwin

Sands. For I am an old man, and I may remember the building of Tenterden Steeple, and I may remember when there was no steeple at all there. And before that Tenterden Steeple was in building, there was no manner of speaking of any flats or sands that stopped the haven; and therefore, I think that Tenterden Steeple is the cause of the destroying and decaying of Sandwich Haven.' "—W. Minto: *Logic*, p. 295.

Refuting the charge that higher education makes men visionary and impracticable, George William Curtis said:

4. "Cavour, whose monument is United Italy. . . . Bismarck, who has raised the German Empire from a name to a fact; Gladstone, to-day the incarnate heart and conscience of England: they are the perpetual refutation of the sneer that high education weakens men for practical affairs."—*The Public Duty of Educated Men.*

(*b*) Second class: Those which may be refuted by showing the inadequacy of the alleged cause to produce the effect claimed.

EXAMPLES OF THE SECOND CLASS

1. There has been a marked rise of wages in England, and it is due entirely to the efforts of the Trades Unions.

2. The Protective Tariff has raised the wages of workingmen in America.

3. Early to bed and early to rise makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise.

4. The war with Japan was the result of Russia's Far Eastern policy.

5. A Protective Tariff insures prosperity.

6. Where there is wealth and prosperity, you will find money plentiful; the free coinage of silver is therefore desirable.

7. Many manufactured articles are cheaper now than they were twenty years ago, because during most of that time we have had a protective tariff.

8. A certain place is not healthy because the air is so moist.

(Moist air is not alone sufficient to make a place unhealthy. Conditions of temperature and violation of the laws of health may be contributing causes.)

9. In a tariff debate it was claimed that Protection had caused the decadence of New England, and that Free Trade would cause a return of her prosperity.

(It was answered that in so far as there had been a decline in New England's prosperity, it had been caused by the loss of tonnage engaged in foreign commerce, and the incident loss of employment for men upon the ocean, and also by the abandonment of many ancient homesteads in New England by their owners.)

10. In a certain district, A ran for Congress and was opposed by organized labor. A's normal party majority was reduced from ten thousand to about two thousand, and labor claimed the credit for this reduction.

(It was answered that the majority fell off not alone in the populous centers where organized labor was strong, but everywhere throughout the district; that other candidates who had not been opposed by organized labor had also suffered a great loss of votes; and that there were two other issues prominent in the campaign,—namely, Liquor and Socialism.)

11. During the business depressions and panics which have occurred in the history of the United States, various causes have been cited to account for the hard times. Some of these are: a change in the tariff policy, the currency system, monopolies and trusts, want of confidence. But public opinion has never generally agreed on any one of these as an adequate cause of hard times.

12. "Alluding to the American tariff question, he said they were at that moment in the throes of a regular tariff turmoil. . . . Amid the uproar, however, they might well recall the familiar truth that under no other tariff system in the world had greater or more general prosperity come to any people.

"Primarily this reminds us of the suggestion, long years since, by the lamented Alden, that the Grand Duke Alexis, then visiting this country, should be taken across the continent, in order that among the peaks and the valleys of the Rockies and the Sierras he should see what scenery 'really was under Republican institutions.' The 'great and general prosperity' of the American people is no more to be attributed to the tariff than the beauties of the Yellowstone to universal suffrage. It is due to the vast and varied natural resources of the land, to the character and growth of the population that has immigrated and multiplied here, and—more than to any other one condition—to the absolute freedom of internal trade secured by the foresight and shrewdness of the founders of the Government to all future generations of that population. Our accomplished Ambassador, under the influence of the 'regular tariff turmoil' invited by his party, could not readily abandon his native rôle as defender of the tariff faith, but in his calmer moments we think it must—in the phrase of his Quaker ancestors—'be borne in upon him' that historically and logically his defense is an antique fallacy."—From an Editorial: *New York Times*, August 4th, 1909.

(*c*) Third class: Those which may be refuted by showing the existence of a counteracting force sufficient to nullify the alleged cause.

EXAMPLES OF THE THIRD CLASS

1. Acting under the centrifugal force a body revolving around a center would fly off on a tangent to its own orbit.

(The centripetal force is sufficient to nullify the alleged

cause, and the result of the interaction of the two forces is to hold the body in its orbit.)

2. All the great nations of antiquity, after rising to the highest pinnacle of power, began to decline, and finally passed away. All that lives must decay and die: it is a law of nature. This, too, must be the fate of England.

(Two possible counteracting forces may be mentioned in the case of England. First, her favored location in the North Temperate Zone; and second, the Christian Religion. Neither of these entered into the lives of the great nations of the Ancient World.)

3. A political economist argued that because of the normal increase of population our export trade in wheat would cease at a certain time, because all our wheat would be needed to sustain our own people.

(It was shown that for the last five decades the population of the United States had not increased by a regular increasing ratio, but by a continually diminishing ratio. This counteracting element would considerably extend the life of our export trade in wheat.)

4. "The Utilitarian Doctrine, then, is, not that despots and aristocracies will always plunder and oppress the people to the last point, but that they will do so if nothing checks them.

"In the first place it is quite clear that the doctrine thus stated is of no use at all unless the force of the checks be estimated. The first law of motion is that a ball once projected will fly on to all eternity with undiminished velocity unless something checks it. The fact is that a ball stops in a few seconds after proceeding a few yards with very variable motion. Every man would wring his child's neck and pick his friend's pocket, if nothing checked him. . . .

"If there be . . . certain checks which under political institutions, the most arbitrary in seeming, sometimes produce good government, and almost always place some restraint on the

rapacity and cruelty of the powerful, surely the knowledge of these checks, of their nature, and of their effect, must be a most important part of the science of government."—T. B. Macaulay: *Essay on the Utilitarian Theory of Government.*

c. **The argument from example.** This is an argument to sustain a present proposition, which argument is based on some past event showing similar conditions. In the example, the conditions governing the past event must be similar to those to which the argument is applied. The example must be real, not fictitious; and it must be parallel in all essential respects to the event under consideration.

(*a*) Arguments from example. 1. "You tried in Wales to raise a revenue which the people thought excessive and unjust: the attempt ended in oppression, resistance, rebellion, and loss to yourselves. You tried in the Duchy of Lancaster to raise a revenue which the people believed unjust: this effort ended in oppression, rebellion, vexation, and loss to yourselves. You are now trying to raise in America, a revenue which the colonists disapprove. What must be the result?"—Burke: *American Taxation.*

2. "There has been in every state and kingdom, a constant kind of warfare between the governing and the governed; the one striving to obtain more for its support, and the other to pay less. . . . The more the people are discontented with the oppression of taxes, the greater need the prince has of money to distribute among his partisans, and pay the troops that are to suppress all resistance, and enable him to plunder at pleasure. There is scarce a king in a hundred who would not, if he could, follow the example of Pharaoh,—get first all the people's money, then all their lands, and then make them and their children,

servants forever."—B. Franklin: *Speech Before the Constitutional Convention.*

3. "In large bodies, the circulation of power must be less vigorous at the extremities. Nature has said it. The Turk cannot govern Egypt and Arabia and Kurdistan as he governs Thrace; nor has he the same dominion in Crimea and Algiers which he has at Brusa and Smyrna. Despotism itself is obliged to truck and huckster. The Sultan gets such obedience as he can. He governs with a loose rein that he may govern at all; and the whole of the force and vigor of his authority in his center is derived from a prudent relaxation in all his borders. Spain, in her provinces, is, perhaps, not so well obeyed as you are in yours. She complies, too; she submits; she watches times. This is the immutable condition, the eternal law of extensive and detached empire."—Burke: *Conciliation with the Colonies.*

4. "I allow indeed that the empire of Germany raises her revenue and her troops by quotas and contingents; but the revenue of the empire and the army of the empire is the worst revenue and the worst army in the world."—Burke: *Conciliation with the Colonies.*

5. "Unless a representative assembly is sure of being supported in the last resort by the physical strength of large masses who have spirit to defend it in concert, the mob of the town in which it meets may overawe it; the howls of the listeners in its gallery may silence its deliberations; an able and daring individual may dissolve it. . . .

"Look at the Long Parliament on the day on which Charles came to seize the five members: and look at it again on the day when Cromwell stamped with his foot on its floor. On which day was its apparent power the greater? On which day was its real power the less? Nominally subject, it was able to defy the sovereign. Nominally sovereign, it was turned out of doors by its servant."—T. B. Macaulay: *Essay on the Utilitarian Theory of Government.*

"JEFFERSON THE IMPERIALIST

6. "How strange that the shades of Thomas Jefferson should be invoked by those who rebuke us for imperialistic innovations. This cry of imperialism, like many other partisan cries, is not without precedent. It broke forth in a perfect storm of popular disapproval, so far as the Federalists were concerned, around the devoted head of the author of the Declaration of Independence. He had purchased Louisiana as we have purchased the Philippines. For months after the great territory had been bought from Napoleon—greater in area than the entire thirteen colonies with all their territories—our new-found possessions had no government except the will of the President, and it was even treated as foreign territory for tariff purposes.

"We purchased New Orleans and St. Louis as we have purchased Manila and Iloilo. We purchased the French and the Spanish, and all the aborigines of that vast territory of Louisiana, just as we have purchased the Tagals of Luzon and all the outlying tribes and peoples which go to make up the Philippine population. President Jefferson governed the people of Louisiana without their consent. He divided his purchase into two territories—that of Louisiana and that of Orleans—and in the act providing for this division, passed on his recommendation, the governor and secretary and every other member of the council, which was the only legislative body of the territory of Orleans, was appointed by Jefferson; that is, the people of our new-found possessions were not allowed to elect a single member of their legislature, while under the House bill which is pending here, when order shall be restored in the Philippines the people of those islands can elect every member of the popular branch of a legislature which is provided.

"Jefferson went further in the direction of what our friends call imperialism in his treatment of the possessions purchased from France than has ever been dreamed of in connection with the government of the Philippines. The Federalists termed him

a tyrant worse than Charles I. When the anti-imperialists of those days talked about the constitutional rights of the people of Louisiana, Jefferson's staunch Democratic friends in Congress insisted: 'Louisiana is a territory purchased by the United States and not a state;' and further: 'Whatever limitation the Constitution fixed to the power of Congress over the state it fixed no limitation to the power of Congress over territory.'

"Jefferson and the Democracy insisted that they would govern Louisiana, not under any constitutional grant of power, but by the right of acquisition, as they saw fit. They did so govern, and they were prepared to use the army of the United States if necessary to enforce our sovereignty within the borders of Louisiana. If there be any doubt on this point, read the President's message to Congress in June, 1804, wherein he stated that he had called out the militia in Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and held the troops in readiness to crush out the opposition that might develop in Louisiana.

"We had our anti-imperialists in those days—timid souls who viewed with alarm the expansion of our territory, the development of our resources, and the increase of our power. Some insisted that the territory east of the Mississippi river and its outlet to the Gulf should alone be retained; that the territory westward of the Mississippi was worthless and should be sold. Their names are not recalled at the present day. The memory of Jefferson, an 'imperialist,' will live as long as our institutions last, and even until the records of civilization shall have passed away, not only as the author of the greatest declaration handed down to man since the time of the Sermon on the Mount, but also as an expansionist and an imperialist who added to our possessions and our sovereignty the great valley of the Mississippi and the great Northwest.

"It was a sign of political decadence and of approaching dissolution that the Federalists of 1804 opposed the extension of the boundaries and the sovereignty of the United States; and the

Hartford convention was scarcely needed to eliminate a moribund party from the political situation in this country.

"The acquisition of Florida from Spain raised similar opposition from the anti-imperialists of 1818, and our records show the same shallow talk about 'the enslavement of unfortunate people,' 'the purchase of human beings,' 'the use of the United States army in extending our sovereignty by brute strength.' But this is all of the past. To-day no sentiment exists in favor of ceding Louisiana back to France and Florida back to Spain.

"The eloquence of Tom Corwin could not prevent the American eagle being carried into the halls of the Montezumas; could not prevent the annexation of Texas and the acquisition of California and the Southwest. And perhaps the most lamentable episode in the career of our greatest orator and constitutional exponent is that wherein Daniel Webster, anti-imperialist-like, withdrew to Boston and viewed the plains, valleys, and mountains of the Far West as anti-imperialists to-day regard the acquisition of the Philippines.

"Almost within the memory of the present generation it was repeated over and over again that Alaska was worthless; that Russia had been for years endeavoring to give that territory away; that the United States had been victimized when it bought Alaska with gold—bought the land, bought the people, bought the forests above and the minerals beneath, just as Jefferson bought the territory of Louisiana. But Uncle Sam has never engaged in a great real estate operation which the American people have regretted. Even barren and frozen Alaska has developed a Klondike."—Hon. George N. Southwick: *Speech in Congress on Civil Government for the Philippines.*

(*b*) The argument a fortiori. A special form of the argument from example is that known as the argument *a fortiori* which argues that if a certain result followed

from certain conditions, much more surely will it follow from present conditions.

Examples of the Arguments *a fortiori*

1. "Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith?"—*Matthew* 6: 30.

2. "If the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear."—I *Peter* 4: 18.

3. "This principle was sternly enforced in the cases of Charles I and James II, and we have it announced on the highest official authority here that the Queen of England cannot ring a little bell on *her* table and cause a man by *her* arbitrary order to be arrested under any pretense whatever. If that be true there, how much more true must it be here, where we have no personal sovereign, and where our only Government is the Constitution and laws."—Jeremiah S. Black: *The Right to Trial by Jury.*

4. "Of all cants that are canted in this canting world, though the cant of piety may be the worst, the cant of Americans bewailing Russian Nihilism is the most disgusting. Chatham rejoiced when our fathers rebelled. For every single reason they alleged, Russia counts a hundred, each one ten times better than any Hancock or Adams could give."—Wendell Phillips: *Oration before Phi Beta Kappa.*

5. "If our army and navy could not withdraw while the interests of civilization and humanity demanded that they should protect the people and the interests of Manila after Dewey's victory, there was a double, even a triple, reason why they could not in honor withdraw after they had been assailed in open warfare by the Filipinos and after the ratification of the treaty of Paris had given to our government sovereignty over the islands by as perfect a title as that by which we possess any considerable area of territory within the continental boundaries of the United

States."—Hon. George N. Southwick: *Speech in Congress on Civil Government for the Philippines.*

(1) *How to Refute the Argument from Example.*

When an argument from example is presented, the debater should examine it to see whether the conditions are parallel with those under discussion. The presence of a single essential element in the one case that is not found in the other, will impair the validity of the example.

EXAMPLE

"What facts does my honorable friend produce in support of his opinion? One fact only; and that a fact that has absolutely nothing to do with the question. The effect of this reform, he tells us, would be to make the House of Commons all-powerful. It was all-powerful once before, in the beginning of 1649. Then it cut off the head of the king, and abolished the House of Peers. Therefore, if it again has the supreme power, it will act in the same manner. Now, Sir, it was not the House of Commons that cut off the head of Charles the First, nor was the House of Commons then all-powerful. It had been greatly reduced in numbers by successive expulsions. It was under the absolute dominion of the army. A majority of the House was willing to take the terms offered by the king. The soldiers turned out the majority; and the minority, not a sixth part of the whole house, passed those votes of which my honorable friend speaks,—votes of which the middle classes disapproved then, and of which they disapprove still."—Macaulay: *Speech on the Reform Bill.*

The fallacy in the above argument from example was that it differed from the situation to which it was

applied in two essential points; those points Macaulay indicated, and so refuted the entire argument.

d. **The argument from analogy.** Analogy is a similarity of relations in different objects. From relations in one sphere, it infers something that will be true in another where the relations are similar.

Arguments from Analogy

1. "When the fluid in the human system, indispensable to life, becomes disordered, corrupted, or obstructed in the circulation, not the head nor the heart alone suffers; but the whole body,—head, heart, and hand, all the members and all the extremities,—is affected with debility, paralysis, numbness, and death. The analogy between the human system, and the social and political system is complete; and what the life blood is to the former, circulation, money, currency, is to the latter; and if that be disordered, or corrupted, paralysis must fall on the system."

—D. Webster: *Speech at Saratoga.*

2. "The English Jews are, as far as we can see, precisely what our government has made them. They are precisely what any sect, what any class of men, treated as they have been treated, would have been. If all the red-haired people in Europe had, during centuries, been outraged and oppressed, banished from this place, imprisoned in that, deprived of their money, deprived of their teeth, convicted of the most impossible crimes on the feeblest evidence, dragged at horses' tails, hanged, tortured, burned alive, if, when manners became milder, they had still been subject to debasing restrictions and exposed to vulgar insults, locked up in particular streets in some countries, pelted and ducked by the rabble, in others, excluded everywhere from magistracies and honors, what would be the patriotism of gentlemen with red hair? And if, under such circumstances, a proposi-

tion were made for admitting red-haired men to office, how striking a speech might an eloquent admirer of our old institutions deliver against so revolutionary a measure! 'These men,' he might say, 'scarcely consider themselves as Englishmen. They think a red-haired Frenchman, or a red-haired German more closely connected with them than a man with brown hair born in their own parish. If a foreign sovereign patronizes red hair, they love him better than their own native king. They are not Englishmen: they cannot be Englishmen: Nature has forbidden it: experience proves it to be impossible. Right to political power, they have none; for no man has a right to political power. Let them enjoy personal security, let their property be under the protection of the law. But if they ask for leave to exercise power over a community of which they are only half members, a community, the constitution of which is essentially dark-haired, let us answer them in the words of our wise ancestors: *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*' "—Macaulay: *Essay on the Civil Disabilities of the Jews.*

3. "I think it is precisely in a time of war and civil commotion that we should double the guards upon the Constitution. If the sanitary regulations which defend the health of a city are ever to be relaxed, it ought certainly not to be done when pestilence is abroad. When the Mississippi shrinks within its natural channel, and creeps lazily along the bottom, the inhabitants of the adjoining shore have no need of a dike to save them from inundation. But when the booming flood comes down from above, and swells into a volume which rises high above the plain on either side, then a crevasse in the levee becomes a most serious thing. So in peaceable and quiet times our legal rights are in little danger of being overborne; but when the wave of arbitrary power lashes itself into violence and rage, and goes surging up against the barriers which are made to confine it, then we need the whole strength of an unbroken Constitution to save us from destruction."—Jeremiah S. Black: *The Right to Trial by Jury.*

4. "Which is the better able to defend himself; a strong man with nothing but his fists, or a paralytic cripple incumbered with a sword which he cannot lift? Such, we believe, is the difference between Denmark and some new republics in which the constitutional forms of the United States have been most sedulously imitated."—T. B. Macaulay: *Essay on the Utilitarian Theory of Government.*

5. "Human experience in every walk of life teaches us that those who have blundered will blunder again, and that the wisest course is not to employ a ship captain who has just emerged from his last shipwreck, but the sailor who has never lost a ship, a passenger, or a letter, but has held safe through every sea. He may have lost masts and sails and even been rudderless for hours, but if he has every time come safe to shore, better have him than all the landsmen who are forever shouting what they can do, and never dare to tell of what they have done. Boasters are worth nothing. Deeds are facts and are forever and ever. Talk dies in the empty air. Better a pound of performance than a shipload of language. The cause of all our troubles is the rapid deterioration of our public men. When a ship runs on a mudbank in broad daylight, with the charts unrolled, and the instruments of navigation in good order, the cause is not the ship herself, nor the passengers, nor the mudbank, nor the daylight, but the captain or the pilot."—From a Speech by Hon. Thomas B. Reed.

6. "The *New York Times* speaks of 'the beggarly reduction from $6 a ton to $3.75 a ton' on print paper. The decrease is 37.5 per cent. Would an increase of 37.5 per cent. on paper or any other article be dismissed by *The Times* as 'beggarly'?"

—*The Tribune.*

"Any increase of any Dingley duty constitutes extortion. The duty on print paper is unnecessary, burdensome, and it invites, and has led to, monopolistic combination. Therefore the duty of $6 a ton may properly be compared with crime, say with sheep

stealing or burglary. If a sheep thief should solemnly declare his intention to steal 37½ per cent. fewer sheep next year than this year, or if a burglar should make a covenant to limit his depredations to 62½ per cent. of their former volume, it would hardly be said that either had reformed. If a liar and blasphemer should resolve to diminish his offending by three eighths, it could not be said that he was in the way of grace and salvation. We adhere to our original belief and statement that the reduction in the print paper duty is beggarly."—*New York Times*, August 3, 1909.

7. "The Philippines are as much a heritage of the war as is Porto Rico or Guam or Hawaii. They imposed national responsibilities upon us which we must meet. A nation is like an individual: It must face responsibilities and it must face them like a man. The Filipinos, as contrasted with Americans, are as mere children to grown men and women. We must treat them as children; we must supply them with a course in the kindergarten; they are not fit as yet for a course in the higher institutions of learning."—Hon. George N. Southwick: *Speech in Congress on Civil Government for the Philippines.*

(1) *Caution in the Use of Analogy.*

The use of analogy as argument calls for great care on the part of the debater. If an opponent can show in any one case that the essential relations are not similar, or that the assumed relations are merely fanciful,—superficial accompaniments and not real relations,—the force of the analogy as argument will be weakened, if not entirely nullified.

It is safer to rely on the analogy as an illustration. For this purpose it may have value in driving home a point in the discussion.

EXAMPLE

"Of what use is the Senate?" asked Jefferson, as he stood before the fire with a cup of tea in his hand, pouring the tea into the saucer.

"You have answered your own question," replied Washington.

"What do you mean?"

"Why do you pour that tea into the saucer?"

"To cool it."

"Even so," said Washington, "the Senate is the saucer into which we pour legislation to cool."

The analogy, whether used as illustration or as argument, is of value in discourse adapted to an audience. If the analogy is a good one, the relations are easily perceived, carry great force, and leave with the hearer a feeling of satisfaction that the matter has been so easily comprehended. Most great American debaters have made free use of this weapon.

(2) *How to Refute the Argument from Analogy.*

To refute an analogy, point out a dissimilarity of essential relations. The essential relations between the things compared must be similar. If, then, it can be shown that they are not similar, or that, being similar, they are not essential, but only superficial or fanciful, the analogy is refuted.

ARGUMENTS FROM ANALOGY REFUTED

1. "Dr. Johnson was guilty of a surprising fallacy in saying that a great mathematician might also be a great poet. 'Sir, a man can walk as far east as he can west.' True, but mathematics and

poetry do not differ as east and west; and he would hardly assert that a man who could walk twenty miles could therefore swim that distance."—G. H. Lewes: *Principles of Success in Literature.*

2. "A certain Antinomian preacher, the oracle of a barn, in a county of which we do not think it proper to mention the name, finding that divinity was not by itself a sufficiently lucrative profession, resolved to combine with it that of dog-stealing. He was, by ill-fortune, detected in several offenses of this description, and was, in consequence, brought before two justices, who, in virtue of the powers given them by an Act of Parliament, sentenced him to a whipping for each theft. The degrading punishment inflicted on the pastor naturally thinned the flock, and the poor man was in danger of wanting bread. He accordingly put forth a handbill, solemnly protesting, and appealing to the Christian charity of the public; and to his pathetic address, he prefixed this most appropriate text: 'Thrice was I beaten with rods.—*St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians.*' He did not perceive that, though St. Paul had been scourged, no number of whippings, however severe, will of themselves entitle a man to be considered as an apostle."—Macaulay: *Essay on Sadler's Refutation Refuted.*

3. "What would become of painting if the critics withheld their lash? As well might one ask, What is to become of Mathematics under similar circumstances—were they possible? I maintain that two and two the mathematician would continue to make four, in spite of the whine of the amateur for three, or the critic for five."—Whistler: *Art and Art-critics.*

Exercises

Refute: 1. Carlyle's argument against representative government:

"A ship could never be taken round Cape Horn, if the

crew were consulted every time the captain proposed to alter his course."

2. The argument against the growth of cities:
   The city is the heart of the Commonwealth; hence too great enlargement of the city will prove destructive to the State.
3. If the balance of trade is against a nation, and if such a condition continue long, that nation must be rendered absolutely bankrupt. It is in the condition of a man who buys more than he sells. Such a traffic leads to financial ruin.

II. DESTRUCTIVE FORMS

There are two methods by which to maintain a proposition: by the submission of direct evidence and argument; or, by reducing the entire proposition to a certain number of issues, and then disproving those that are not true. In that case the truth will appear by reason of the disappearance of error. This indirect method is called:

I. THE PRINCIPLE OF ALTERNATIVES

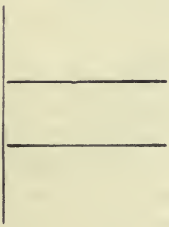
In the application of this principle, it is necessary to reduce the resolution to a certain limited number of issues which must be accepted as including all the alternatives possible. As the whole is equal to the sum of all its parts, so the resolution must be equal to the sum of all the alternatives. If another alternative can be found, the argument falls.

Having reduced the resolution to its alternatives, it is necessary to overthrow all those that are erroneous.

A common application of the principle is to reduce the resolution to two issues, only one of which can be true.

EXAMPLE

1. The principle applied in geometry:
   Proposition: *Two lines perpendicular to the same straight line are parallel to each other.*



   Either the two lines are parallel to each other, or else they are not. Let us assume that they are not parallel. In that case, if continued, they would meet, and we should have from the same point, two lines perpendicular to a given straight line, which is impossible. Since the assumption that the lines are not parallel is shown to be wrong, the other alternative must be right: the lines are parallel.

2. The principle applied in debate:
   RESOLVED: That lynch law in the United States is justifiable.
   The alternative in this resolution is:
   Either, lynch law is sometimes justifiable,
   or, lynch law is never justifiable.

Let us assume that lynch law is sometimes justifiable. Then, the provision of the Constitution of the United States which declares that no citizen shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, except by due process of law, is not applicable to all citizens at all times. But the Constitution is the paramount law of the land, and under its provisions the penalty of death cannot be inflicted except after a legal trial and conviction. The first alternative, therefore, cannot be true. The other must stand: lynch law is never justifiable.

II. FORMS OF DESTRUCTIVE ARGUMENT

The forms of argument which are based on the principle of alternatives are (*a*) the absurdity, (*b*) the dilemma, and (*c*) the residue.

a. **The absurdity.** This argument, commonly called the *reductio ad absurdum*, consists in establishing the truth of a proposition by showing that one of the two alternatives to which the proposition can be reduced is absurd, is a palpable violation of common sense.

Examples of the Absurdity

1. In a debate on college athletics, it was urged that college athletics should be abandoned because they take much time that might otherwise be spent in study. "But," said the opposing debater, "would not this same consideration require the abandonment of most, if not all, of the social life of the college? And on this ground, too, ought we not to restrict the eating of college students to the smallest limits that will sustain life? And must we not reduce to the same limit the time devoted to sleep? Would not the same argument that would call for the abandonment of college athletics, inevitably transform the college student into a sleepless, emaciated hermit?"

2. Theodore Roosevelt tells an amusing incident which happened during the consideration of a measure in the Legislature of the State of New York, providing that laborers on all public works should receive two dollars per day. He offered an amendment that such employés should receive five dollars per day and need only work when they felt inclined so to do. The introducer of the measure, while favoring the amendment, said to Mr. Roosevelt: "Don't you think you are going a little too far? I am afraid that your amendment will kill the bill."

3. "The right of the Executive Government to kill and imprison

citizens for political offenses has not been practically claimed in this country, except in cases where commissioned officers of the army were the instruments used. Why should it be confined to them? Why should not naval officers be permitted to share in it? What is the reason that common soldiers and seamen are excluded from all participation in the business? No law has bestowed the right upon army officers more than upon other persons. If men are to be hung up without that legal trial which the Constitution guarantees to them, why not employ commissions of clergymen, merchants, manufacturers, horsedealers, butchers, or drovers, to do it? It will not be pretended that military men are better qualified to decide questions of fact or law than other classes of people; for it is known, on the contrary, that they are, as a general rule, least of all fitted to perform the duties that belong to a judge."—Jeremiah S. Black: *The Right to Trial by Jury.*

"REDUCED COST OF LIVING

4. "*To the Editor of The New York Times:*

"Every family using iron ore, pig iron, scrap iron, steel rails, cash registers, linotypes, typewriters, steam engines, and wood pulp will now be able to buy them for less, and the cost of living will be reduced. . . .

"FAMILY MAN."

5. "If once for principle 'tis laid,
That thought is trouble to the head;
I argue thus: the world agrees
That he writes well who writes with ease:
Then he, by sequel logical,
Writes best, who never thinks at all."
—Pryor: *Epistle to Fleetwood Shepherd.*

(1) *How to Refute the Absurdity*

To answer the absurdity it is necessary to show an alternative that has not been considered. Here, as so often happens, the truth may be, not at either extreme, but on some middle ground. Thus, in the argument on the abandonment of college athletics, referred to above, but two alternatives are suggested: either that they should be carried to excess, or that they should be abandoned altogether. There is a third alternative,—that they should be retained and kept in their proper relation to the studies of the men.

b. **The dilemma.** This form of argument establishes the truth by reducing one side of the resolution to two issues, neither of which is true. These issues are called the horns of the dilemma.

EXAMPLES

RESOLVED: That the Senate of the United States was justified in passing the Armenian Resolutions.

The resolution may be reduced to this alternative:

Either, The Armenian Resolutions were interference with European affairs,

or, They were not interference with European affairs.

From which arises the following dilemma:

1. If the Armenian Resolutions were interference with European affairs, they violated the Monroe Doctrine.

2. If they were not interference with European affairs, they were puerile and useless.

3. In either event, the Senate was not justified in passing them.

The argument of Demosthenes in the *Oration on the Crown* is practically a dilemma:

"Æschines is either inconsistent or unpatriotic; for he either joined in the public rejoicings, or else he did not. If he did join in them, he was inconsistent. If he did not join in them, he was unpatriotic. In either case, he is guilty."

(1) *How to Refute the Dilemma.*

To answer, or overthrow, a dilemma, it is necessary to show that the statement of alternatives therein set forth is incorrect or incomplete. Thus, in the example above, if it could be shown that there might be such interference with European affairs as was not prohibited by the Monroe Doctrine, the statement of the alternatives would fall and the dilemma could not stand.

EXAMPLES

"If a student likes his studies, he needs no stimulus; if he dislikes his studies, no stimulus will avail; but a student either dislikes his studies, or he likes them; therefore, stimulus is either not necessary, or it is of no avail."—Jevons: *Lessons in Logic*, p. 165.

There is a third alternative: the student who is indifferent; to him, stimulus may be beneficial. The dilemma falls.

"No honest man will plead for an accused person; for the accused is either guilty or innocent. If the accused is guilty, he ought not to be defended; and if he is innocent, it must be apparent to his judges."—Lafluer: *Illustrations of Logic*, p. 60.

c. **The residue.** By this method the debater enumerates all the issues to which the resolution can be reduced, and then overthrows one after the other until only the one tenable issue remains. Two things are necessary to this form of argument. First, every possible issue must be enunciated. Second, the issues must be so arranged that the formal statements will be limited in number. To clear away too many alternatives is liable to make the argument tedious and involved.

EXAMPLES

"There are but three ways of proceeding relative to this stubborn spirit which prevails in your colonies, and disturbs your government. These are, to change that spirit as inconvenient by removing the causes; to prosecute it as criminal; or to comply with it as necessary. I would not be guilty of an imperfect enumeration; I can think of but these three."

After a careful examination of all three alternatives, the author concludes:

"If, then, the removal of the causes of this spirit of American Liberty, be for the greater part, or rather entirely, impracticable; if the ideas of criminal process be inapplicable—or, if applicable, are in the highest degree inexpedient; what way yet remains? No way is open but the third and last,—to comply with the American spirit as necessary; or, if you please, to submit to it as a necessary evil."—Burke: *Conciliation with the Colonies.*

The affair must have taken place either at Philadelphia, or at New York, or at Boston. It did not take place either at Philadelphia, or at New York. It must, therefore, have occurred at Boston.

At the outset of his lectures on Evolution, in New York,

Professor Huxley used the residue to establish the theory he advocated. This he did by stating that there were only three hypotheses by which nature could be accounted for. First, that the universe has always existed in its present condition; second, that the universe came into existence without any precedent condition from which it could naturally have proceeded; third, the present universe has been evolved by a natural process, from an antecedent state, through a series of intervening states. He then proceeded to show that the first hypothesis cannot be verified by evidence, and hence, must be abandoned. The second hypothesis must rest on circumstantial evidence which does not sustain, but contradicts it; this must, therefore, be abandoned. There remains but the third hypothesis,—that of Evolution.

(1) *How to Refute the Residue.*

To answer, or refute the residue, it is necessary either to show that an important alternative has not been enumerated, or to sustain one of the eliminated alternatives, or to overthrow the remaining alternative.

EXAMPLE

In a brief on the Solution of the Race Problem it was argued that the following enumeration includes all possible means for its solution:

1. Educate the negro, and recognize him as an equal.
2. Amalgamation.
3. Let the negro remain, a citizen in name, but in reality, an inferior and a slave.
4. Deport the negro to our island possessions.

The speaker then eliminated all the alternatives except the last.

Condensed from *The American Debater*, Vol. 1, p. 253.

Show that the first stated alternative is practicable and sustain it.

Show that the fourth alternative is not practicable.

E. A Table of the Logical Forms Used in Debate With Methods of Refutation

I. Form	II. Refutation
I. *Constructive*	I.
A. The Deductive Form	
(a) The Syllogism	A. (a) 1. Show that the major premise is not universal; or 2. Show that the minor premise is not a particular under the major premise; or 3. Show that the conclusion does not logically follow from the premises.
(b) The Enthymeme.	(b) First write out in full; then apply 1, 2, or 3 above.
(c) The Chain of Reasoning.	(c) Overthrow any one premise, using 1 or 2 above.
B. The Inductive Form.	
(a) Cause to Effect. Effect to Cause.	B. (a) 1. Show that the alleged cause is non-existent; or 2. Show that the alleged cause is insufficient; or 3. Show a counteracting force sufficient to nullify the cause.

A Table of the Logical Forms Used in Debate With Methods of Refutation (*Continued*)

I. Form	II. Refutation
(b) Example.	(b) Show that the example is not a parallel case to the present.
(c) Analogy.	(c) Show that the analogy is fanciful, and not the result of a cause that could effect the present case.
II. *Destructive*	II.
A. The Absurdity.	A. Show an alternative not stated in the absurdity.
B. The Dilemma.	B. Show that the statement of alternatives is incorrect, or incomplete.
C. The Residue.	C. 1. Show important alternative not enumerated; or 2. Sustain an eliminated alternative; or 3. Overthrow the final alternative.

An Explanation of the Table of Logical Forms With Some Suggestions as to Its Use

The table is a condensed statement of the foregoing discussion of the logical forms used in debate and their refutation. That was theoretical; this is practical. If this table is not already in the mind of the student, it should now be committed to memory.

From now on, in all practice debates, this table should constitute the debater's method of thought. If he is preparing a brief, his argument should take one or more of these forms. If he is studying the refutation of his opponent's argument, his method will be suggested by the second column of the table.

The highest value of this table consists in its availability as *a method of thought in discussion.* Once laid hold of and made a part of a student's intellectual life, it will be found an ever-present and effective aid in all public and private discussion.

The table should be made the constant test of arguments in class practice, until the debater becomes an adept in its use.

CHAPTER V

THE ORDER OF THE ARGUMENT

A. Order of Greatest Effect

No definite rule can establish the order in which arguments should be presented in every debate. Here, individual invention must be allowed the greatest freedom. Arrange the points in the order in which they will have the greatest effect,—that is about as definite advice as can be given. On the arrangement of his points, the debater can afford to spend his severest labor. The power of divining unerringly the best order in which points ought to be put can be acquired, and in nothing does the debater show in a more marked degree his mastery of the spirit of debate.

John Quincy Adams said:

"You can find hundreds of persons able to produce a crowd of good ideas upon any subject for one that can marshal them to the best advantage. Disposition is to the orator what tactics, or the disposition of armies is to the military art. . . . There is no part of the science in which the consummate orator will be so decidedly marked out as by the perfection of his disposition."—*Lectures on Rhetoric and Oratory*, Vol. I, p. 80.

On the arrangement of arguments, these suggestions may be given:

(1) *Let the first argument advanced be one of the strongest.* The audience awaits with some curiosity the development of the line of the debate. It should not be disappointed by having its attention at the start directed to non-essential considerations. The speaker should begin the debate by giving them something to grip, intellectually; his debate will then be received with respect,—the first element of attention. It is well, if it can be done naturally, to express this first point in a striking way, and to allude to it, or repeat it at intervals, throughout the debate.

(2) *Observe, in the main, the law of sequence, in the arrangement of arguments.* By the law of sequence, each argument should follow logically from those that precede. It is possible to observe this law more rigidly in written argumentative discourse, than it is in oral debate. Special circumstances connected with the immediate occasion not infrequently determine the position of an argument in other than its sequential succession. But unless there should be some such determining consideration, the logical order should prevail. A natural sequence is a valuable aid to reason and memory.

After the strong argument with which the debate has been opened, others, not of such prime importance may be marshaled, and in the arrangement of these, the logical sequence will usually indicate the best order. The probable argument and the argument from experience may well precede those which depend upon

purely intellectual proof. And the ideal, of course, is to have such a connection running through all, as shall give the strongest possible impression of unity and progressive intensity.

(3) *Observe the law of climax in the arrangement of the argument.* Here again the observance can only be in a qualified way as compared with written argumentation. If Rule 1 is observed, and a strong argument placed first, it may not be possible to exhibit a growing strength from first to last. But the law of climax should determine the selection of the closing considerations of the speech. These should be the strongest available, the object being to leave a deep impression on the mind of the hearer.

B. Waiver and Concession

Never hesitate to waive minor matters in debate; but first assure yourself that they are unimportant. Freely concede non-essential points.

The debate should be upon the main issue of the resolution, and unwillingness to concede anything usually creates the impression that the side refusing is fearful of its cause. Generosity in these minor matters, always makes for that kindly spirit and fair dealing without which debate cannot reach its most successful stage.

C. Refutation

(1) *Object.* The object of refutation in debate is to weaken, or nullify the effect of an opponent's argument.

Successful refutation requires thorough knowledge of the question, and mental alertness to recognize the answerable points of an opponent. The essential standard of the man who would succeed in refutation, is that each argument, as it is brought forward, no matter what its form, should be recognized, and should suggest at once its best possible answer.

(2) *Logical forms best adapted to refutation.* The forms best adapted to refutation are those which can be quickly apprehended by the average audience. There is no time, in oral debate, to grasp logical subtleties, or fine spun theories. The attack must be broad,—of the sledge-hammer variety. A first-rate example, a striking analogy, a broad dilemma, a humorous absurdity, an unanswerable quotation,—all these are valuable weapons in refutation. In the whole of debate, there is no more fascinating exercise.

(3) *Testimony.* When testimony is introduced, examine closely the character of the witness; look carefully too at the character of his evidence. Testimony may be weakened or overthrown by a witness of a better character, or by more probable evidence.

A well-known example of the discrediting of testimony is narrated in the life of Abraham Lincoln. The testimony was to the effect that the witness actually saw the fatal blow struck. When he was asked how this happened, he said it was because he was not far away, and it was a bright, moonlight night. By a clear exposition, Lincoln showed that the whole case against his client

rested on this testimony, and he impressed the jury with its importance. Then, he put in evidence an almanac, which showed that on the night in question there was no moonlight.

Oral testimony is very rarely introduced in debate. The testimony is usually in print, and this gives the greater opportunity for careful scrutiny. It is necessary, too, carefully to discriminate between testimony and authority. The man who is being quoted as an expert on the subject, may, in this particular case, have been speaking as a witness only and such a misrepresentation should be guarded against.

(4) *Authority.* When authority is quoted, examine its value as an authority. Inquire also, whether the general trend of the authority has been quoted, or an isolated statement, which, apart from its context, misrepresents the authority quoted.

(5) *Logical forms.* As the methods of refutation and answer called for by the logical forms used in debate are given in connection with the discussion of the various forms, it will be unnecessary to consider them here.

(6) *Refutation followed by direct argument.* In all debate work it should be held in mind that refutation is strengthened if it is followed by direct argument to establish the opposite conclusion to the one overthrown. Failure to adduce this direct proof may, after all, leave a question in the mind as to whether the point at issue has really been overthrown. To be complete and

effective, refutation must not only overthrow an opponent's conclusion by making clear its fallacy, but it must also establish upon an impregnable basis, the opposite conclusion.

(7) *Need of discretion in refutation.* Inasmuch as refutation is such a fascinating exercise, there is no part of debate in which the student has need of greater discrimination and self-control. There is, commonly, too much so-called refutation in debate. There is altogether too much puerile and impotent attempt at refutation. If an argument is really strong, attempted refutation will usually only develop its strength. If an argument is non-essential, or weak, it may be wise briefly to point out the fact, but little time should be given to the effort. It is the important point,—the one which may be qualified, or weakened, or possibly nullified,—which should be attacked: Either this, or nothing. It is not always necessary that there should be *any* refutation in debate.

D. Closing the Debate

(1) *Summarize.* The last speaker on each side should briefly summarize the arguments that his side has attempted to maintain. This gives an effect of completeness and finish to the entire debate.

(2) *Unify.* It is well, however, to do more than merely enumerate the points. Logical connection should be indicated; progressive intensity should be developed; the inherent unity of the entire argument should be

emphasized, to the end that the impression on the hearers at the close of the discussion may not be that of a series of more or less clearly related points, but rather of a single body of argument, compact, massed, unified. In debate, team work wins.

Examples

"If, in the course of this controversy, we have refrained from expressing any opinion respecting the political institutions of England, it is not because we have not an opinion, or because we shrink from avowing it. Our notions about government are not altogether unsettled. We have an opinion about parliamentary reform, though we have not arrived at that opinion by the royal road which Mr. Mill has opened for the explorers of political science. As we are taking leave, probably for the last time, of this controversy, we will state very concisely what our doctrines are.

"Our fervent wish, and we will add, our sanguine hope, is that we may see such a reform of the House of Commons as may render its votes the express image of the opinion of the middle orders of Britain. A pecuniary qualification, we think absolutely necessary; and, in settling its amount, our object would be to draw the line in such a manner that every decent farmer and shopkeeper might possess the elective franchise. We should wish to see an end put to all the advantages which particular forms of property possess over other forms, and particular portions of property over other equal portions. And this would content us. Such a reform, would, according to Mr. Mill, establish an aristocracy of wealth, and leave the community without protection and exposed to all the evils of unbridled power. Most willingly would we stake the whole controversy between us on the success of the experiment which we propose."—T. B. Macaulay: *Essay on the Utilitarian Theory of Government.*

"We could say much more; but we think it quite unnecessary at present. We have shown that Mr. Sadler is careless in the collection of facts,—that he is incapable of reasoning on facts when he has collected them,—that he does not understand the simplest terms of science,—that he has enounced a proposition of which he does not know the meaning,—that the proposition which he means to enounce, and which he tries to prove, leads directly to all those consequences which he represents as impious and immoral,—and that, from the very documents to which he has himself appealed, it may be demonstrated that his theory is false. We may, perhaps, resume the subject when his next volume appears. Meanwhile, we hope that he will delay its publication until he has learned a little arithmetic, and unlearned a great deal of eloquence."—T. B. Macaulay: *Essay on Sadler's Law of Population.*

This conclusion of Macaulay's *Essay on Sadler's Law of Population* is a good example of the conclusion that summarizes the argument, but its spirit is the very spirit against which the debater is warned.

CHAPTER VI

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

A. The Attitude of Debaters Toward Each Other

(1) *Courteous.* The attitude of debaters toward each other should be courteous. Debate is a contest, and the more earnest the contest, the better the debate. The temptation to be sharp, or sarcastic, is frequently very great. It is important to remember, therefore, that discourtesy toward an opponent usually reacts upon the speaker by creating a feeling of prejudice against him in the minds of his hearers. Humor is the debater's legitimate weapon; but one who desires to be an effective debater should never consciously develop his powers of sarcasm or irony. No one can afford to sacrifice the finer instincts of his nature for the sake of a temporary triumph.

(2) *Be exact in restating the arguments of an opponent.* In restating the positions and arguments of opponents, special effort should be made to reproduce with exactness. Few debaters deliberately misrepresent an opponent's position; many are unable exactly to state that position; but nothing makes more for the proper spirit of debate than exactness in restating the positions of

the opposing side. Such great debaters as Charles James Fox and Abraham Lincoln not infrequently stated the arguments of an adversary more strongly even than the original presentation. There is great gain in such a practice, when the speaker is confident in the strength of his own cause.

(3) *Estimate properly the arguments of an opponent.* When it is found necessary to estimate the weight of an opponent's argument, never seek to belittle it. It is not unusual in the stress of the contest, to have such arguments referred to with more or less contempt, but the effect is usually unfortunate; and the effort is liable to return upon the one making it. If the argument is really unworthy, trust the audience to see it; if strong, no amount of expressed contempt will weaken it. Scrupulous courtesy should mark the debate from beginning to end. If mental strength and dexterity is a valued result of debate, none the less so is that intellectual poise which cannot be overthrown in the midst of the most exciting contest. If one would see the progress that has been made in the personal conduct of debate by English-speaking peoples during the last hundred years, let him read the parliamentary debates of the early part of the last century. Grattan's *Reply to Corry*, and his *Reply to Flood* are good examples of the use of personalities in debate. Many examples of the same thing may be found in the debates of the American Congress, and, in all such cases, not even the brilliancy of genius can gloss over the brutality. The

one resolution that the young debater should form at the beginning of his work in this subject is that recrimination shall have no place in his forensic efforts.

B. The Use of Quotations

Occasionally, either as evidence or authority, it is necessary to introduce a quotation into the debate. When this is done, the quotation should add to the force and dignity of the discussion. A quotation that does not do this might better be omitted. In many instances, debate would undoubtedly be strengthened by the use of a brief, forceful abstract, instead of a lengthy quotation.

(1) *The quotation should be accurate.* It is a rule at law, never to cite an authority without looking it up, and the rule holds, no matter how many times the case may have been cited in previous arguments. This rule may well govern quotation in debate. Carelessness, or inexactness, here, may throw distrust on the accuracy of an entire argument.

(2) *The quotation should be fairly applied.* Assuming that no debater would consciously distort an authority in quotation, the fact yet remains, that not to do so, unconsciously, requires some knowledge of the general attitude and spirit of the author quoted. The debater should satisfy himself that not only the language, but the spirit of the passage, as well, is in his favor before quoting it in support of his position.

(3) *The quotation should not be long; it should be to*

the point. Better a short abstract than a long quotation. A quotation in debate, should be brief, and it should hit the point squarely.

(4) *The quotation should not be read, but recited, or delivered from manuscript.* It should not be read, because reading breaks the continuity of the oral argument. It compels the debater to leave the line of direct address, to take his eye from the audience, and he who does this always runs the risk of losing the attention of his hearers. The phrase *delivered from manuscript* is here used in its technical sense. It is neither reading, nor reciting from memory, but with the words before him, the debater makes them a part of his speech, and thus gains for his immediate cause the force, and weight of outside authority.

(5) *The quotation should be from an authority of sufficient dignity to add weight to the argument.* A quotation from an authority not generally respected defeats its own end, and raises, at once, the presumption that authorities of weight are lacking to sustain the proposition enunciated.

C. Preparation for Oral Delivery

(1) *Memorize the brief.* In preparation for the oral presentation of the debate, the language of the brief should be committed to memory. It should be held so firmly in mind that no unlooked for incident, no sudden surprise, no strenuous attack can displace it. The language of the brief has been carefully selected;

it is usually impossible to improve upon it on the impulse of the moment, and if under any stress of circumstances, the debater loses his grip on this language, the chances are that his work will become vague and inefficient.

(2) *Language should be extemporaneous.* The language of the debate proper should be left largely to the inspiration of the moment. If the argument has been thought out and talked over as it should have been, the linguistic channels of the mind will be formed, and phrases, clauses, and even whole sentences will leap to the lips, each suited to its own purpose. It is never necessary to commit to memory the language of one's argument. On the other hand, an argument delivered memoriter usually lacks the adaptation and force of one, the language of which, is the immediate invention of the hour.

"Were a slave, or a youth, or one speaking of mere trifles to 'talk fine,' it would be rather unbecoming; . . . the rule of good taste is that your style be lowered or raised according to the subject. On which account, we must escape observation in doing this, and appear not to speak in a studied manner, but naturally. For a natural style tends to persuade, the other does the very reverse; because people put themselves on their guard, as though against one who has a design upon them. . . ."

—Aristotle. Translation in *Loci Critici*, by G. Saintsbury, p. 26.

CHAPTER VII

THE EXPRESSION OF DEBATE

In considering proper methods of expression in debate, we must take into account the general requirements of literary form and elocution, as adapted to the specific nature of debate. We consider then:

A. The Prose Style of Debate

Of the cardinal qualities of style, clearness is the one essential to debate. It is impossible to convince a man of that which he does not understand. Hence, diction and sentence structure must unite to convey the thought in the most direct manner possible. Both debater and hearer are actively engaged, the one in giving, the other in acquiring, a certain thought. Neither should be tolerant of impediments.

It is necessary to assume that the debater has been trained in the elementary principles of grammar and rhetoric. In accordance with these, he should so arrange his language in phrase, clause, and sentence, that his meaning shall be apparent at once. The result is a plain, straightforward, prose style. The idea is to enable the hearer to grasp the argument without thinking of the language by which it is conveyed. Un-

less one has trained himself in the art of perspicuous expression, his sentences will become curiously involved, in extemporaneous speech. There is no opportunity in debate to explain the obscure statement; there is no time to make ambiguity definite. All these must stand with the resultant vagueness in the hearer's mind. Who that has listened to debate has not heard such sentences as these:

"We need a high tariff for our industries which need protection."

"By this is meant the injection of a few drops of lymph into persons bitten by mad dogs and they go on their way rejoicing."

"I have had three years' experience in this work and I think in a successful manner."

In extemporaneous debate, it is necessary to think ahead, so that from the beginning of the sentence its period may be seen.[1]

It is necessary, too, in debate, to be exact in the use of words. Debate is an intellectual contest. A man is judged by what he says, and it is no answer to an opponent's charge to say: "That is not what I meant." The question is not what was meant but what was said. In early practice it may be necessary to use the word at hand, but there should be continuous effort to cultivate a discriminating habit to the end that the word shall

[1] Porson, the great English scholar, once said: "Mr. Pitt conceives his sentences before he utters them. Mr. Fox throws himself into the middle of his, and leaves it to God Almighty to get him out again."

express the exact thought in the speaker's mind. Daniel Webster formed a curious habit of audibly repeating synonyms until the exact word came.[1]

To be able to speak the exact word in debate, one must have a copious vocabulary. The various devices for increasing one's stock of words, and the labors and rewards of such great debaters as Pitt, and Fox, and Canning, and Bright, and Gladstone should be emulated by every student who would be an exact and fluent public speaker. These men translated the classics, analyzed and imitated the best English writers, ransacked and comprehensively studied the best English dictionaries of their time, and counted no toil too severe to gain the priceless gift of forceful speech.

The ideal style for debate, then, is a plain, straightforward, businesslike style, precise in diction, clear in arrangement, forceful where emphasis is needed, but with no ornamentation, and adapted solely to move the intellect and the will.

[1] "He [Webster] had a singular habit which made it wearisome to listen to his ordinary speech, of groping after the most suitable word, and trying one synonym after another, till he got that which suited him best:

" 'Why is it, Mr. Chairman, that there has gathered, congregated, this great number of inhabitants, dwellers, here; that these roads, avenues, routes of travel, highways, converge, meet, come together, here? Is it not because we have here a sufficient, ample, safe, secure, convenient, commodious, port, harbor, haven?'

"Of course, when the speech came to be printed, all the synonyms but the best one would be left out."—G. F. Hoar: *Autobiography of Seventy Years*, Vol. I, p. 144.

Examples

The following examples of the prose style of debate have been selected from recent intercollegiate debates in American universities as illustrative of the style in use in the best debate work at the present time.

Opening Speech—Affirmative

Debate. Pennsylvania–Cornell in 1903.

Question. Resolved: That aside from the question of amending the Constitution, it is desirable that the regulating power of Congress should be extended to all corporations whose capitalization exceeds $1,000,000.

Pennsylvania for the affirmative; Cornell for the negative.

Speech of Mr. Scott Nearing, of Pennsylvania, opening the debate.

"Mr. Chairman: The question presented by this debate is of particular interest because of its direct bearing upon the present industrial and financial condition of our country. During the past few years, the market value of one hundred industrial stocks has decreased $1,745,000,000. The significance of this loss is almost beyond comprehension. It means that the one hundred thousand stockholders in the United States Steel Corporation have lost $400,000,000; it means that those interested in the National Asphalt Company, the Lake Superior Copper Company, and the Ship Building Trust have lost practically the entire amount of their investments. It means that hundreds of thousands of stockholders throughout this country have been deprived of their savings by methods which would be criminal under any well-regulated system of corporate control. This

swindling has been accomplished by mismanagement and deception, by allowing huge profits to promoters, by excessive valuation of properties incorporated, and by extravagant bond issues. As an instance, take the United States Steel Corporation. The underwriting syndicate which financed that corporation received $80,000,000 in stock as its share of the plunder. One of the companies composing the United States Steel Corporation is capitalized at five times its actual value. The United States Steel Corporation has issued $450,000,000 of bonds, leaving its preferred and common stock representing nothing but water. Such methods of financing corporations have resulted in the enormous losses of which we have spoken. If these methods were prohibited, the losses would be prevented.

"And this slump in industrial stocks has carried down the price of railroad stocks, has carried down the price of other stocks, so that to-day, our standard securities are selling far below their normal value. The great industrial corporations were organized with money borrowed from the banks by the promoters and underwriters. The banks loan their money only on good securities; so that standard stocks and bonds must be deposited as collateral for loans. These loans are for three, six, or nine months, and must be paid at maturity. The underwriters expected to repay the loans by selling to the public, the stocks and bonds of these new companies which they are marketing. In this attempt, they are only partially successful. The worthlessness of their watered stock and bogus bonds is soon shown; the prices of industrials begin to decline, until the promoters are unable to sell large amounts of their worthless securities at any price. The loans are now overdue and the banks demand payment. If they fail to sell their securities, they are unable to pay, and the banks are forced to sell the collateral on whose security these loans were made. Large blocks of these standard stocks are thrown upon the market, which soon breaks under the pressure, and carries down the price of standard in-

vestments twenty to fifty points below their normal level. In order to get money for improvements, large corporations, like the Pennsylvania Railroad, must issue stocks and bonds. These stocks and bonds cannot be sold on a declining market, and the improvements are discontinued; legitimate new enterprises are halted for the same reason. Immediately, the general public feels the effect; there is a rapid decline in the prices of iron, steel, and coal; mines close up for lack of orders; mills shut down because the demand has slackened; thousands of employés are thrown out of work—passing on the effects of the depreciation to the retail trade, and thus to a new set of manufacturers, and from them to the producers of food and raw materials.

"This is no imaginary picture. It describes the course of events in the United States since November, 1902. The severe depression from which this country is suffering, and which is gradually being communicated to the industrial affairs of the country, is the direct result of the enormous overcapitalized industries—the United States Steel Corporation, and the Mercantile Marine—and the wholesale calling of bank loans which followed them.

"We have the Pencoyd Iron Works nearly shut down and about to leave Philadelphia; we have the Pennsylvania Railroad discontinuing its schemes for improvements; we have thousands of miners in the Lake Superior regions deprived of employment, and are threatened with a general industrial depression, because of the present system of permitting incompetent and dishonest men to organize corporations for the purpose only of swindling the public and unloading securities upon them. These evils would be impossible under an effective system of corporation regulation.

"We, of the Affirmative, stand on the proposition that the national government is the proper authority to regulate large corporations, and should, therefore, be given that power. We hold that the present system of state regulation, as shown by the

events of the past year, is a menace to the prosperity of the country. From all sides, we hear the demand for some kind of reform. As this is a question of national importance, the reform must come from the national government. It may be objected that we should be depriving the States of some of their inalienable rights; that we would be centralizing too much power in Congress; that the framers of the Constitution left the chartering of corporations to the States; for at the time of making the Constitution, corporations were merely of local concern; but what was the rule adopted by the framers of the Constitution in granting powers to Congress? 'Those matters which are of general importance to the whole nation must be regulated by the Federal Government.' This rule was the outcome of the bitter experience of the States under the Federation. Each State had had its own laws with regard to subjects of national importance. For instance, they tried to regulate the state commerce; to regulate the currency; to borrow money; and in a short time, interstate business was at a standstill. The currency was in a state of absolute chaos; all our foreign credit was ruined. These experiences with regard to subjects of national importance, should be granted to Congress to regulate; and those are the subjects over which Congress is given power by the Constitution.

"During the session of the convention, James Madison proposed that power be conferred on Congress to grant charters of incorporation in certain cases where the general welfare may require them, but the authority of a single State may be incompetent. It was decided that corporations were of mere local concern, and did not require congressional regulation. Since that decision was reached, great changes have taken place in the United States. In 1800, our manufactures amounted to $100,000,000, the result of individual enterprise; in 1900, they had increased to $13,000,000,000, the result of corporate enterprise. In 1800, the corporations—the few that then existed—were confined to narrow limitations by the lack of any facilities whatever for

transportation. During the early part of the nineteenth century, we have the development of the telegraph, of the railroad, of the steamboat; so that, in 1900, there were tens of thousands of corporations doing business throughout the entire country, and these corporations controlled four fifths of the wealth and employed twenty-five per cent. of the labor of the United States. Insignificant as corporations were in 1787, James Madison and Charles Pinckney believed that they should be regulated by Congress. To-day, we have the corporations of great importance to the whole country. Had the framers of the Constitution foreseen the development of transportation and the enormous growth of corporate power, there can be no question that they would have granted to Congress the right of corporation regulation and control. The corporation system as it exists to-day is of great importance to the whole nation, and the abuses which arise under this present system of state regulation of corporations have injured the prosperity of this great nation. The corporation problem, in other words, is a national problem. Let us, therefore, in dealing with this national problem, follow out the intention of the framers of the Constitution, and in the interest of the general public, recognize in Congress, the power to regulate large corporations."

Speech in Rebuttal

Debate. Pennsylvania–Cornell in 1903.

Question. Resolved: That aside from the question of amending the Constitution it is desirable that the regulating power of Congress should be extended to all corporations whose capitalization exceeds $1,000,000.

Pennsylvania for the Affirmative; Cornell for the Negative.

Speech of Mr. J. Ambler Williams, of Pennsylvania, in rebuttal.

"Mr. President: In presenting their argument in the first instance, Cornell said that it was contrary to the general tradition and spirit of the American Constitution, and to the traditions of our people to extend the regulating powers of Congress to these corporations. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have here an address delivered before the New York State Bar Association by a very eminent authority on constitutional law—Mr. Ernest W. Huffcut, Dean of the Cornell Law School—who has the following to say upon this proposition: 'The system of exclusive Federal control would seem perhaps the logical outcome of the constitutional provision giving to Congress power to regulate interstate commerce. I am even disposed to think that it will be the ultimate solution of the present problem.' There seems to be, ladies and gentlemen, as you see for yourselves, some difference of opinion in the camp of the Ithacans.

"Now, I want to call your attention to one point—that there is one argument that we have presented to-night, which they have failed to meet, and it is the argument about the regulation of corporations engaged in interstate commerce. It has been decided by the United States Supreme Court in the E. C. Knight case, that when a corporation is primarily engaged in manufacturing, and only secondarily engaged in commerce, Congress cannot regulate it. That is a decision of the United States Supreme Court, and you will find it in 156 U. S., page 1. On the other hand, it has been decided in the United States Supreme Court that no State can interfere with a trading corporation in shipping its goods into that State in their original packages. You will find that decision recorded in 135 U. S., page 100. Now, what is the result of these two decisions? The result is that when a corporation is engaged primarily in manufacture, and secondarily in interstate commerce, nobody can control it; because

whenever Congress undertakes to control it, it says, 'Congress, hands off. Here is the E. C. Knight case;' and when the States undertake to control the sale of the goods of the corporation, it says, 'States, hands off! Here is the Leisy vs. Harding case.' That is the practical situation.

"Now, the gentleman referring to his Moody's Tabulary something—whatever he calls it—said that there were two hundred and thirty-five corporations engaged in interstate commerce. That is to say, there are two hundred and thirty-five corporations, which according to the authority of the Supreme Court of the United States, neither Congress, nor the State can regulate. Now, sir (turning to Cornell), what are you going to do with those two hundred and thirty-five corporations?

"Now, the gentlemen have said that they are opposed to our contention, because we argue for a national corporation law. Why, ladies and gentlemen, we have a national corporation law—a corporation law whose mandates are obeyed in every one of forty-five States of the Union; a corporation law under whose provisions ninety per cent. of the corporations of the United States have secured their charters. I refer to the corporation law of the State of New Jersey. The corporation of New Jersey garners the harvests of Porto Rico; it plucks the oranges of Florida; it pulls the cotton of Georgia; it rolls the tobacco leaf of Virginia; the New Jersey corporation digs the ore and mines the coal and makes the steel which has brought fame to the Keystone Commonwealth; it is a New Jersey corporation which produces the salt of New York; which drains the oil wells of Ohio; which clears the forests of Michigan; which mines the copper of Montana; which reaps the crops of Iowa; which herds the cattle of Texas.

"Now, what is this New Jersey Corporation Law which has become the corporation law of the land? I pointed out in my first speech, some of the glaring defects in it. What are they? It is a corporation law which permits promoters to swindle the

American public, and then go scot free; it is a corporation law which permits dummy directors to determine the values of property which they have never seen; it is a corporation law which permits the same dummy directors' judgment to be conclusive; this is the corporation law for which the gentleman stands sponsor, and, ladies and gentlemen, it is for you to say to-night, whether you want a national corporation law coming from Trenton or a national corporation law coming from Washington."

Third Argument—Affirmative

Debate. Pennsylvania–Virginia in 1904.

Question. Resolved: That the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States should be repealed.

Pennsylvania for the Affirmative; Virginia for the Negative.

Speech of Mr. George W. Maxey, of Pennsylvania.

"Mr. Chairman: The preceding speaker has repeatedly declared that it would be dangerous to deprive the southern negroes of suffrage after their having 'tasted' it for so long a period. The truth is that southern negroes 'taste' suffrage so seldom that if they had to live on suffrage, they would all have been dead these many years. However much these gentlemen may admire negroes at a distance of three hundred miles, at home they unite with all other southerners on the proposition that negroes shall not be admitted to either social or political equality. The university which these gentlemen represent, the university founded by the author of the Declaration of Independence, never admits a negro to its classic halls. The southern white people possess a determination as fixed as fate that negroes shall not govern them. This is a fact which Federal legislation may

ignore, but which no legislation can ever overcome. Unified public opinion is stronger than law, and the unified public opinion of the South has nullified the Fifteenth Amendment.

"My colleague has demonstrated the completeness of negro disfranchisement in defiance of the Fifteenth Amendment in the four States of the South which contain the largest percentages of negro inhabitants. If you will examine this map of Virginia, you will find that the negro is disfranchised even in the Old Dominion, where the 'Negro Problem' has never been gravely acute. You will observe that in this dark-hued fourth congressional district [pointing to a large map] the Democratic vote in 1902, the last year of which official election returns are available, was 3,715; the Republican vote was 0. Yet this district, of which Petersburg is the metropolis, is in the 'black belt' of Virginia, and the population is sixty per cent. negro. Over one hundred thousand negroes and no Republican votes! On the other hand, here is the ninth district, bordering on the Cumberland mountains. Of the population of this district only four per cent. are negroes. But here the Republican vote is 13,700; the Democratic vote, 13,500. These two districts placed in contrast, prove two things: First, that where negroes are so numerous that their votes would be effective, they are not allowed to vote at all; secondly, that where the negro is even a social factor, the fear of his becoming a political factor drives all of the white men into one party, while, on the other hand, where there are but few negroes, and the *race* issue is in consequence not acute, the white voters feel at liberty to divide on issues that are economic and of national concern.

"But the Fifteenth Amendment is not merely a failure, it is also an injury to the southern white man, to the southern negro, and to the entire country.

"It injures the southern white man because it is a perpetual threat of negro domination and being such it makes the race question the paramount issue in southern politics. As long as

race supremacy remains an issue, it will be to the South, the issue transcendent and exclusive. A southerner may agree with the Republican party on economic questions, yet he dare not vote the Republican ticket because that party threatens to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment. You may ask how this keeps alive the race issue if its enforcement is impossible. How did a stamp tax that could not be collected bring on the Revolution? A southerner cannot vote the Republican ticket and maintain his respectability because every four years, that party, in its national platform denounces the evasion of the Fifteenth Amendment by the southern people as 'revolutionary.' In every campaign, that party promises negro voters in the North a negro restoration in the South. That party introduces force bills in Congress. Such proceedings do not convince the people of the South that the race question can with safety be ignored. Such proceedings force them into that party which stands for white supremacy.

"Owing to this state of affairs, the South is politically dead. In the North, twenty per cent. of the inhabitants vote; in the South, voters constitute less than two per cent. of the population. John Sharp Williams, the Democratic leader in Congress, lives in a district containing 190,000 inhabitants; in 1902, there were only 1,400 votes cast in Mr. Williams's district. The State of Mississippi contains 2,000,000 people. The State's total vote in 1902 was 18,000. In that State, there are 200,000 male negroes of voting age; they are presumably Republicans, yet neither in the congressional elections of 1902, nor in the gubernatorial election of 1903, was there a single Republican vote recorded. Is it any wonder that the South, once supreme in national councils, no longer has any part in the shaping of national policies? Isn't such political lethargy an injury to the South? Is it well for a free people never to indulge in political discussion? Isn't it a menace to free government to have one part of the body politic in a state of political decay?

"Yet for this situation, we cannot blame the people of the

South. Where there is but one party, there must be political decay. The injecting of the race issue into national politics forced the southern whites into one party. The race issue was injected into national politics by the Fifteenth Amendment. As long as the race issue remains the overshadowing issue in the South, the South cannot politically divide. On the race issue, white men never divide when it is brought home to them. White men sometimes vote to let negroes govern other white men; but white men never vote to let negroes, or any other inferior race, govern them. Many white men will not vote to let the Filipinos govern themselves.

"In the North, where amid a vast white population, there are not altogether a million negroes, it is easy to treat the race issue lightly. In the South, where there are nine million negroes, where in some States negroes outnumber the whites, the race question agitates the very heart of social life. A southerner can take no chances; he will not put his civilization in the balance. The South loved William McKinley. When Mr. McKinley visited the South, he everywhere received the highest tributes of honor and affection. The South also approved and prospered under his economic policies, yet McKinley never received an electoral vote from any State of the old Confederacy. Go ask the southern people the reason they never vote the Republican ticket and they will tell you that though they prefer gold to silver, they prefer white supremacy to gold, and though their industrial interests demand protection against foreign goods, their industrial, social, and political interests demand protection against negro rule. So we have this curious result, that instead of enfranchising the negroes, the Fifteenth Amendment has on national questions virtually disfranchised the southern white people.

"It has done more: It has lowered their political morality and cost them their civic reputation. This Amendment presented to the southern people the alternative of surrendering their persons, their property, and their civilization to the custody of negroes,

or of resisting it by fraud and violence. Rather than submit to this odious law, the southern people have done as Anglo-Saxons have always done under similar circumstances. They have resisted the execution of the law by fraud when convenient and by force when necessary. Just as John Hampden refused ship-money; just as Boston rejected English tea; so the South repudiates this Amendment. Just as northern Republicans refused to return fugitive slaves to their former masters in obedience to the law, passed by southern Democrats, so southern Democrats refuse to make their former slaves their masters in obedience to the law passed by northern Republicans.

"For a long time the South defeated the operation of the Fifteenth Amendment by means of stuffed ballot boxes and shot-gun persuasion. These methods are still quite popular; but, of late, a new method has been generally employed. Southern genius has provided the southern States with unique constitutions. Three years ago one of these constitutions was adopted by Virginia. Like all the others, Virginia's constitution in its appearances and professions conforms to the Fifteenth Amendment; but in its operations it violates and defies it. Its voice is the voice of Jacob, but its hand is the hand of Esau. Virginia's new constitution has been a success. At the last election it prevented from voting, nearly one hundred thousand negroes,—practically all of the negro voters in the State.

"This new Virginia constitution contains the famous 'grandfather' clause which enables the sons of soldiers to vote without further qualification. This is the only recognition the Old Dominion has ever given to the dogma that political power may be inherited,—a dogma which Thomas Jefferson always condemned and which George Washington subdued at Yorktown. The next clause in the Virginia constitution requires that those who are not descendants of soldiers must give a 'reasonable explanation' of any part of the constitution before they can vote. Who selects the part of the constitution to be explained? The

Democratic registers. Who determines the 'reasonableness' of the explanation? The Democratic registers. That's where 'the hand of Esau' is felt. How many of you Republicans would be willing to have your right to vote depend on your ability to give a 'reasonable explanation' of any part of the constitution which a Democratic judge of election might select and the reasonableness of which explanation *he* might determine? If the Virginia constitution were administered impartially, it might—as these gentlemen say that it does—put a premium upon intelligence, but when it is so administered that any white man may vote in spite of his ignorance while a negro is denied suffrage, even though he possess the brain of John Marshall, it puts a premium on nothing but fraud and racial bigotry. If a negro has the temerity to present himself to a register in any southern State, he is asked what parts of the Magna Charta are engrafted into the constitution, or some other question equally easy—and that is the end of him. Is it any wonder that eminent southerners, like ex-Secretary of the Navy Herbert, declare that in order to protect their civilization the southern people have been compelled to resort to election methods of which they are ashamed, and which they desire to abandon! Here is the testimony of John S. Wise—a great constitutional lawyer and a Virginian. He declares: 'In order to deprive negroes of the privileges guaranteed them by the Fifteenth Amendment, the people of Virginia have resorted to methods as shameless as those of any pirate that ever sailed the seas.' You cannot impeach Mr. Wise as being disloyal to Virginia, or as biased in favor of negroes. As a boy of eighteen, he was one of the eight thousand who stood by Lee at Appomattox, as loyal as the 'Old Guard' at Waterloo. Later, he was graduated with honors at the University of Virginia. His father was Virginia's famous governor,—the governor who signed the death warrant of John Brown.

"Honorable Judges: We cite these facts and this testimony not to cast discredit on the honored name of Virginia. We would

not dim her old record of glory. On the contrary, our proposition is that any amendment which is so odious that the best people of Virginia will resort to these shameful expedients to defeat its execution ought to be repealed. Are you, gentlemen of Virginia, satisfied to be compelled, at every election to club and lynch into insensibility this Amendment, or would you not prefer its effacement, once for all, by due process of law? Lynching, whether its victim be a man or an amendment, debases the community and demoralizes government. It is dangerous for those States to get into the habit of corrupting elections. States, like individuals, sow habits and reap characters. The State is teaching its white citizens to rob negroes; some day, these citizens may exercise the art on one another. It is a cruel wrong to place the fifteen million people of the South in a position where they are compelled in order to protect their persons, their property, and their civilization, to resort to the devices of criminals. The nation should revoke its odious mandate and so emancipate the South from the bondage of lawlessness.

"Again, this Amendment should be repealed because it injures the negro. It deludes him with false hopes. It points out to him a promised land of political plenty which he cannot enter. These delusions divert the negro from the straight and narrow path of racial progress. Beguiled by the false promises of this legislation, the negro abandoned the plow for politics. For his salvation, he turned to the statehouse, and forsook the soil. The basis of the prosperity of every race is not political privileges, but industrial efficiency. Booker T. Washington declares in his *Atlanta Address* and in his volume *Up From Slavery:* 'The negro must begin at the bottom of life, not at the top. Let us dignify industry,' said he, 'and in time we will be accorded all the political privileges we are capable of exercising, but these privileges,' he added, 'will never come by outside forcing.' Again, in an address delivered a few days ago at Birmingham, Ala., Mr. Washington admonished the negroes

not to become pompous and expect great things from the recent Republican victory. They were evidently expecting the enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment, for Mr. Washington added: 'Remember that we must depend for our success, not on political promises or parties, but on our character, our industrial skill, and on the cultivation of friendly relations with the white people of the South.'

"We of the North might as well admit that the negro in the South cannot vote until the southerner consents. The unanimous public sentiment of the South is stronger than congressional enactments. If we desire to see the negro possess the ballot, we must stop attempting to force the southerner to give it to him. The southern people are as generous as we are, but generosity is not likely to be manifested by a people continually threatened with coercive measures. The southern States must be let alone. This Amendment, this outside interference, has aroused antagonism between the races in the South which has been detrimental to both, but especially to the negro. The negro absolutely needs the help of the southern white man, but the southerner's coöperation will be denied the negro as long as he remains a political competitor.

"These gentlemen say that the present generation of southerners have adapted themselves to the Fifteenth Amendment and do not wish to wipe the negro out of political existence. The information we have is quite to the contrary. Here is a copy of the address delivered by ex-Secretary of the Navy Herbert, at the Birmingham, Ala., Conference, on the negro problem, held only a few years ago. This distinguished southern gentleman says: 'The bitter struggles for political power have made the white men and the negroes of the present generation hate each other. Our children cannot know, as we remember, the brighter side of negro character.' The Governor of North Carolina, in his recent magazine article, also declares: 'We have made a sincere effort, in North Carolina, to secure good government

with negro suffrage, but the effort has failed.' White supremacy is essential to the negro's progress. Negro government in the South failed to protect those very interests on which all progress depends. In time, the South will accord the negro political privileges. In some parts of the South, free negroes voted thirty years before the war. No race which has demonstrated its economic efficiency has ever been long denied political activity; but to confer on a race, politically in the kindergarten, the diploma of the most exalted citizenship is an act of supreme folly.

"Lastly, we urge the repeal of this Amendment because it does injury to the entire country. Its violation by the southern States is the subject of taunts in Congress and recrimination in the press. It makes the North distrustful; the South, defiant. It recalls and stimulates strife. It engenders sectional hatreds. It is the bond which holds together that specter of secession, that menace to nationalism,—'The Solid South.' For the sake of the Constitution, let us remove from it this dead limb, this limb which, though dead, casts over the South the shadow of negro domination. For the sake of the Union, let us take away from our organic law this cruel legacy of civil war."

Closing Speech in Rebuttal

Debate. Pennsylvania–Virginia in 1904.

Question. Resolved: That the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States should be repealed.

Pennsylvania for the Affirmative; Virginia for the Negative.

Speech of Mr. George W. Maxey, of Pennsylvania.

(This closing part of Mr. Maxey's speech in rebuttal is reproduced here as an admirable example of the

Summary in Debate, which subject is discussed on pp. 90–92 of the text.)

"We have asked these gentlemen to point to a single beneficent result flowing from the Fifteenth Amendment. They have pointed to not one. We have asked them to point to a single harm that could possibly result from its repeal. They have pointed to not one. We have shown that the repeal of the Amendment could not possibly imperil the negro's interests. He could not be poorer politically than he is. On the other hand, we have shown that its repeal would take the negro from the realm of politics, where he has been a failure, where he has been the football of parties, and would transform him into an independent laborer and artisan. We have pointed to the fact that throughout all history substantial political power has always come swiftly to every people and to every race competent to exercise it. The ballot has been not the creator of power but rather its symbol and recognition.

"We have asked for the repeal of the Amendment so that the southern people might be released from the fetters of ballot frauds, from the bondage of lawlessness, so that southern political life might again be vitalized and burst the barriers of sectionalism.

"We have asked for the repeal of the Amendment in order to restore the mutual coöperation of the southern white men and the southern negroes—such coöperation is demanded by the highest interests of both races. As Booker Washington said to cheering thousands of both races at Atlanta: 'The two races in the South must be as separate as the fingers in all things social, but *united as the hand,* in all things essential to mutual progress.'

"Above all, we have urged the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment for the sake of the Union. Our country's welfare demands that the southerner's interests be no longer sectional but national, demands that he become in the fullest sense an *American* citizen, demands that 'The Solid South' like 'the Mason and Dixon

line,' become merely a phrase of historic memory. To restore the fraternal relations which existed of old, the northern people must extend the olive branch; and the only olive branch the southern people will ever accept as a guarantee of our good faith and good will is the repeal of that enactment which took from their splendid old commonwealth one of their ancient and most cherished rights; for, in removing from the constitution this odious, ineffective mandate, we say to the southern people:—The Negro Problem is your problem; we leave its solution with you, confident of your sense of justice. From the negro, you have suffered most; for him, you have done the most; you have taught him all he knows of industry and civilization, and to you alone he must look for continued guidance to social usefulness. We say to them:—We propose to put to rest this specter, this threat of negro rule; the war is over—let us bury with its dead, this product of its passions."

B. The Elocution of Debate

The opinion is widely held, that, in debate, elocution is a negligible quantity, and that if a man has anything to say he ought to be able to say it under the stress of discussion. However plausible the theory, in practice the desired result rarely follows; and the fact is fairly forced upon the earnest debater that, while much of the so-called elocution of the schools of expression is quite out of place in this field, there is yet an essential quality of public speech without which the highest forensic success is impossible. The experience at one of our leading universities was typical. An investigation into the causes of several defeats in intercollegiate debate led the authorities to believe that the

trouble lay in a "lack of form." After reaching this conclusion, they required all candidates for debating teams to pursue a course of training with the instructor in elocution at the university, and those chosen by him as the most promising men were entered for the final contest. As a result, the debate teams were much more successful.

The essentials of the Elocution of Debate are here considered in order.

(1) *Position while speaking.* It is, perhaps, enough to say of this that the debater should stand in the easy attitude of a gentleman engaged in earnest conversation.

(2) *The quality of the voice.* In every walk in life, an agreeable voice prejudices the hearer in one's favor. This is not more true in society than in the business world. The Greeks held that a loud voice betokened bad breeding. The same idea prevails to-day; the loud, harsh tones of an uncultured voice add measurably to the difficulties of the man who pleads a cause.

The desirable voice in debate has a clear, smooth tone located in what is commonly known as the middle register. In pitch it is neither very high nor very low. Harsh, guttural, or aspirated tones should be modified by practice until they shall not intrude even in the stress of the most earnest contest. The earnest student of this art will give himself industriously to the practice of the vowels and such sentences as may be found in any text-book on the subject; these may well be fol-

lowed by declaiming aloud one or more of the speeches given on pp. 101–118.

In this work the aid of a competent instructor is of the greatest value. The ideal debating voice is one which, always natural, will yet express, unconsciously, whatever shade of thought or emotion its owner may desire to express.

(3) *Articulation.* If one were asked to name the most common elocutionary fault in debate he might safely answer, the failure to articulate distinctly. Judges not infrequently fail to catch the full force of an argument because of the speaker's defective articulation. Of this defect there are various causes, of which three may here be noted:

(4) *In the earnestness of debate the speaker may unconsciously assume a rate too rapid for distinctness of utterance.* This usually follows from the urgent desire to include more material in the allotted time than should be included. The rapid rate may enable the speaker to present more of his argument but it will usually be at the expense of effectiveness.

A common result of such rapidity is the elision of a syllable, as guv'ment for gov-ern-ment, p'litic'l for po-lit-i-cal, f'r'nst'nce,—for instance.

Frequently, several consecutive words are joined into one. Thus the sentence, Capital punishment is barbarous and ought to be abolished in the State of New York, is transformed into, Capit'lpun'shmunt'sbarbarous'nought'be'bolish'dnStateN'York.

The habit of speaking too rapidly may be overcome by practice in speaking long sentences and paragraphs, enunciating each syllable distinctly; this will necessitate a slower rate.

(5) *The habit of pronouncing certain words in a slovenly manner is sometimes formed.* This habit is exemplified in such common errors as *lor* for law, *becuz* for because, *Amurica* for America

As this is one of the most subtle faults in articulation, so it is one of the most difficult to overcome. Incessant practice on the words themselves is essential.

(6) *The organs of articulation may not be correctly placed.* The lips, teeth, tongue, and palate, all contribute to a nice articulation, and the correct use of these organs will frequently improve the muffled, indistinct tones which detract so much from effective debate. If one does not have a clear enunciation, either as the gift of nature, or as the result of early training, he may well devote himself assiduously to the task of acquiring it. A nice articulation is a real pleasure to an audience, and is an effective aid to the work of debate.

(7) *Interpretation.* Assuming that the debater has expressed his thought in good language, well arranged, there is the further necessity of correctly interpreting it to the audience. Attention should be given to this, because, while it is everywhere important, from the very nature of the exercise, this power of interpretation in debate, is vital.

Two elements enter largely into the vocal interpretation of thought. They are: inflection and emphasis.

(8) *Inflection.* The rules for inflection that are essential in debate are few and simple; but they require attention for their right application.

Rules for Inflection

I. *The upward inflection commonly indicates that the thought at that point is incomplete in the mind of the author.* Example: Strange as the fact may seem, few men are able correctly to interpret their own thoughts to an audience.

In this sentence the incompleteness of the thought on the word *seem* should be indicated by a slight upward turn of the voice.

II. *The incomplete downward inflection commonly indicates that the thought at that point is complete in the mind of the author, but is to be followed by another thought closely related to the first.* Example: Yet nowhere is this more important than in debate; indeed, it is well-nigh indispensable to success.

In this sentence the thought is complete at the word *debate*, but it is to be followed by another thought closely related to the first. Hence, the inflection on the word debate should be the incomplete downward inflection.

III. *The complete downward inflection commonly indicates such completion of the thought in the author's mind as is indicated by the end of the sentence.* Ex-

ample: The inflection on the word success in the example under Rule II, above, should be the complete downward inflection.

IV. *A question that begins with a verb and can be answered by "Yes" or "No" should be given with the upward slide of the voice to the end of the sentence.* Example: Will the gentleman claim that?

Exception: When such a sentence is too long to be covered by a single slide, the upward movement may be suspended at the first pause of imperfect sense until near the end of the sentence, when there should be a pronounced upward slide to the end.

Example: Have you not told us again and again that while we were troubling ourselves so much about the negro question, the negro himself had every reason to feel happy and contented in the condition of slavery?

This sentence, under the rule, would require the upward slide to the end; but owing to its length, the slide should be suspended at the close of the phrase "*again and again*," and should be completed on the words "*in the condition of slavery?*" at the close.

V. *A question that begins with an adverb or a relative pronoun, and that cannot be answered by "Yes" or "No," should be given with the downward slide to the end.* Example: What can our opponents say to that?

Exception: When such a sentence is too long to be covered by a single slide, the downward movement may be suspended at the first pause of imperfect sense

until near the end of the sentence, when there should be a pronounced downward slide to the end.

Example: Who does not feel, what reflecting American does not acknowledge, the incalculable advantages derived to this land out of the deep foundations of civil, intellectual, and moral truth, from which we have drawn in England?

This sentence, under the rule, would require the downward slide to the end; but, owing to its length, the slide should be suspended at the close of the clause "*Who does not feel,*" and should be completed on the words "*from which we have drawn in England?*" at the close.

VI. *A sentence that consists of two alternative questions connected by the word "or" should be delivered with the upward slide to the "or" and with the downward slide from there to the end.* Example: Will they choose this policy, or be content with that?

VII. *Names, titles, or epithets, used in direct address should be given with a slight upward inflection.* Example: Honorable Judge, we cite these facts not to cast discredit on the commonwealth.

It is not intended to include a comprehensive discussion of the subject of inflection. The rules given are those only that seem essential to debate. The application of these rules will relieve an oral argument from the depressing fault of a monotonous delivery.

(9) *Emphasis.* (*a*) Definition. It is important that the debater should get the conception of emphasis

pointed out by Dr. Henry Mandeville who defined emphasis as "a significant stress laid on a word to mark the exclusion of its relative ideas expressed or understood."

(*b*) Purpose. It is the debater's purpose to make his important points stand out clear and distinct. In doing this, he will find that a right conception of emphasis is of valuable assistance. The theory of emphasis is not that it is volume of voice, nor accent, nor yet pause, though all these may lend aid. Emphasis is that stress laid on a syllable or word which differentiates it from its related ideas; as a result of its application, the emphasized thought should stand out alone, freed from all entangling verbal alliances. To formulate the large number of rules necessary to cover all cases would carry one farther into the technicalities of expression than would seem necessary or advisable in discussing the expression of debate. A careful application of the principle stated above, by the debater, will go far toward making those points that he wishes to emphasize, stand out separately from their contiguous or related thoughts.

The purpose of emphasis being to separate a word or idea from its relative ideas, it will appear that emphasis should not be used too often; so to use it is to nullify its effect.

(10) *Gesture.* The principle that should govern the use of gesture in debate is that gesture should always add to the force of the expression. Each gesture should reënforce the spoken word. All the ordinary types are appropriate,—the supine, the prone, the index finger,

the clenched fist. But usually some practice is required to enable one to present these gestures gracefully.

(*a*) Natural. Awkward, inapt, or self-conscious gestures detract from the force of the argument; it would be better to omit gestures entirely than to use them, when by their awkwardness they would distract the attention of the audience from the thought of the argument. But the speaker who is forced, through lack of practice, to omit from his argument the language of the hand—a heritage that is rightfully his—must labor under a decided disadvantage. In formal oratory, there is place for the formal gesture; in the arena of debate, there is none. Here, the gesture speaks as plainly as the tongue, or the gesture fails to do its work. Hand a book to a friend: is it necessary to speak in order to make him understand that you wish him to take it? Reach out your hand for the pencil he holds: is it necessary to put your request into words? The answer to a question you have asked is written on a blackboard: you do not have to say so; the index finger gives the information. It requires the gesture of threat completely to tell that famous story of the Irish Chiefs:

"Pay me the money you owe me," said the first, "or else ———!"

"I owe you no money," said the other, "and if I did ———!"

To be efficient in debate, a gesture must speak. It must be as much a part of the debate as the language of the tongue. And the expression of debate is at its

best when the one language is as graceful and unconscious as the other.

(*b*) Not too many. Beware of many gestures in debate. While gesture is a legitimate part of the debater's equipment, and the ability to use it in a striking and graceful manner is one to be cultivated by all who would be adequately prepared for the contest, there is usually a temptation to overdo the matter. When gestures are so numerous as to be obtrusive, they become a hindrance and a distraction: better too few than too many.

The oral delivery of the speeches on pp. 101–118, with appropriate inflection, emphasis, and gestures, will be found a profitable exercise.

(11) *Earnestness, physical and mental.* The expression of debate should be earnest and forceful. That the debater should be interested in his work need scarcely be stated; the point is that many who *are* interested fail to make known the fact to their hearers. Thus, many an earnest speaker continually misrepresents himself. Without this saving quality of manifested earnestness, all public speech is but a puerile thing. Without it, debate is mimicry: it is but playing at the effort to convince. It is the form of virtue without the soul thereof.

The public speaker who is in earnest to convince or persuade should have no lack of physical evidence of the fact. The kindling eye, the vibrant voice, the incisive speech, the attitudes, the gestures,—all these will

tell the hearers in no uncertain way that the orator is no make-believe, but an earnest, thinking man with an immediate purpose.

One who, like the lecturer, has to depend on himself solely, on his own resources alone, to overcome the apathy and inertia of an audience, may find real difficulty in his task. But where mind clashes against mind in the forensic arena, there can be neither excuse nor apology for apathetic discussion.

Further to enforce this thought, these appropriate and forceful sentences are quoted from the well-known book entitled, *Before an Audience*, by Mr. Nathan Sheppard:

"With an adequate use of his will, an adequate knowledge of what he is about, the speaker will make a right use of his physical organization,—will be physically, as well as morally or spiritually, in earnest.

"The way to be vivacious is to be vivacious. The education is all done upon one side of the man,—the inside, the intellectual side,—and it fails in not getting in something in the way of earnest education on the physical side,—the outside,—which it is the fashion to look upon as the lower side. But it is the side of the emotional nature, which is five eighths of a speaker's success; it is the side of common sense, or practical judgment, of mesmeric power, of vivacity, of unction, of adequate voice, of knowing what you are about. There is a fallacy and mischief in tracing all the shortcomings of the preacher [speaker] to his deficiency in moral and spiritual earnestness. It is not earnestness in the ordinary sense that the man needs. He is probably more in earnest in that sense than he ever was; more intellectually, morally, spiritually in earnest. It is physical earnestness that he needs."

APPENDIX

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AN ANALYSIS OF BURKE'S SPEECH ON CONCILIATION WITH THE COLONIES FOR EXAMPLES OF LOGICAL FORMS USED IN ARGUMENTATION AND DEBATE

The Speech on Conciliation with the American Colonies, by Edmund Burke, is a treasure-house of the logical forms used in argumentation and debate. Underneath the wealth of imagery, richness of ornamentation, and fervency of appeal which have made famous the rhetoric of Burke, may be found the close reasoning cast in logical form, without which, no argumentative effort, no matter what its elegance of diction, could long hold the respect of thoughtful readers. In adapting his discourse to his hearers, the author of the Speech frequently departs from the outlines in which his arguments would literally have been presented, so that while the reasoning is cogent, the logical forms are concealed, and do not always readily appear.

It is not the purpose of the following analysis to give a complete outline of the Speech in the order in which Burke delivered it, but rather to indicate the passages in which the arguments appear, and then to restate these arguments in their logical forms. In doing this, the order of the forms is that followed in the preceding

pages of this book. By means of this arrangement, the various forms in the Speech may be examined in connection with the assignments in the text. Such exercises can hardly fail to add interest to the study of Burke's masterpiece, while at the same time, they will furnish to the pupil excellent practice in the various logical forms.

The references to pages are to the edition of the Speech in the Gateway Series of English texts, edited by Dr. Henry Van Dyke, and published by American Book Company.

References by page and section to the Manual of Debate:

ANALYSIS

I
THE INTRODUCTION

P. 19 (1) 27, A

1. AN EXPOSITORY INTRODUCTION.

The occasion for this review, by the House of Commons, of American affairs—subject should have careful deliberation—personal reasons for making this address.

Page 37, line 1—page 42, line 13

P. 19 (1) 27, A

2. STATEMENT OF THE ISSUE.

"The proposition is peace. . . . I propose, by removing the ground of the difference, and by restoring the *former unsuspecting confidence of the colonies in the mother country* to give permanent satisfaction to your people."

Page, 42, line 14—page 43, line 2

P. 27, A

3. STATEMENT OF ONE POINT ON WHICH BOTH PARTIES AGREE.

"The idea of conciliation is admissible. . . . Conciliation [is] admissible *previous* to any submission on the part of America."

Page 43, line 25—page 44, line 7

P. 28 (2)

4. STATEMENT OF FACTS.

The number of people, the commerce, the agriculture, and the fisheries, of the colonies.

Page 46, line 6—page 55, line 20

P. 29, B

5. BURDEN OF PROOF.

In general, the entire speech, after the statement of the issue [see 2, above] is an exemplification of the principle that he who asserts must prove.

And in the following passage, Burke seems to assume the Burden of Proof, specifically:

"The *principle* of this proceeding is large enough for my purpose. The means proposed by the noble Lord for carrying his ideas into execution, I think, indeed, are very indifferently suited to the end; and this I shall endeavor to show you before I sit down. But, for the present, I take my ground on the admitted principle. I mean to give peace. Peace implies reconciliation; and where there has been a material dispute, reconciliation does, in a manner always imply concession on the one part or on the other. In this state of things, I make no difficulty in affirming that the proposal ought to originate from us."

Page 43, line 25—page 45, line 12

II

THE CONSTRUCTIVE FORMS

P. 36, I 1. THE MAIN CONSTRUCTIVE ARGUMENT of the speech appears to be set forth in the following passages:

P. 37 *a.* "My hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties, which though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government,—they will cling and grapple to you, and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood that your government

may be one thing, and their privileges another; that these two things may exist without any mutual relation, the cement is gone—the cohesion is loosened—and everything hastens to decay and dissolution. As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces toward you. . . . Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom."

Page 124, line 3—page 126, line 13

P. 38 *b.* [To show the value of the American Colonies to England, Burke submits the present and growing numbers of people in the colonies; their vast and rapidly increasing commerce; their agriculture, already necessary to the Old World; the abounding wealth and the spirit of their fisheries; and concludes:] "When I see how profitable they [the colonies] have been to us, I feel all the pride of power sink. . . . My rigour relents. I pardon something to the spirit of liberty."

Pages 46–55

P. 38 *c.* "My idea, therefore, without considering whether we yield as matter of right or grant as matter of favor, is *to admit the people of our colonies into an interest in the Constitution;* and by recording that admission in the journals of Parliament, to give them as strong an assurance as the nature of the thing will admit, that we mean forever to

adhere to that solemn declaration of systematic indulgence."

"Let us get an American revenue as we have got an American empire. English privileges have made it all that it is; English privileges alone will make it all it can be."

Page 82, line 8; page 126, line 26

These passages indicate the main constructive argument of the Speech. Underneath them, there is the complete outline of a syllogism:

Major premise: Desirable colonies can be most wisely held by conciliatory concession.

Minor premise: The American colonies are desirable colonies.

Conclusion: The American colonies can be most wisely held by conciliatory concession.

P. 43, a

2. THE SYLLOGISM AMPLIFIED.

a. By the establishment of the major premise.

(1) Concession means stability in our political relations. Page 66, line 13

(2) Concession refused means an attack on our own established principles. Page 68, line 28

(3) Concession means complying with the colonial spirit and this is the only possible method of dealing with it. Page 79, line 18

(4) Concession means the admission of the colonies to an interest in the English Constitution. Page 82, line 10

(5) Concession means the preservation of

the concord of the empire by creating a unity of spirit in all its parts.

Page 81, line 21

(6) Concession means that the colonies will be taxed by grant and not by imposition, and on this account, taxation without representation will cease to be an issue. Page 96, line 16

(7) Concession means that the colony assemblies have the legal competency to raise taxes; that heretofore, this legal competency has been employed in a dutiful and beneficial way; and that, in the past, enforced taxation has been a failure.

Page 96, line 18; page 105, line 15

(8) Concession means the repeal of those Acts of Parliament which have produced the present unhappy conditions.

Page 106, line 14—page 109, line 3

(9) Concession means a fair and unbiased judicature for the colonies.

Page 109, line 4

P. 41, d 3. ENTHYMEMES. Each enthymeme may be developed into a complete syllogism.

a. "I mean to give peace. Peace implies reconciliation."

b. "Reconciliation does in a manner always imply concession on the one part or on the other."

c. "In this state of things, I make no difficulty in affirming that the proposal ought to originate from us. Great and acknowledged force is not impaired, either in effect or in opinion, by an unwillingness to exert itself."

d. "The superior power may offer peace with honour and with safety."

e. "The concessions of the weak are the concessions of fear."

f. "When such a one is disarmed, he is wholly at the mercy of his superior; and he loses forever that time and those chances which, as they happen to all men, are the strength and resources of all inferior power."

Page 44, line 24—page 45, line 12

g. "The people of the colonies are descendants of Englishmen." Page 58, line 9

h. "I cannot admit that proposition of a ransom by auction, because it is a mere project."

Page 115, line 10

i. [I cannot admit that proposition of a ransom by auction, because] "It is a thing new."

j. [I cannot admit that proposition of a ransom by auction, because it is a thing] "unheard of."

k. [I cannot admit that proposition of a ransom by auction, because it is a thing] "supported by no experience."

l. [I cannot admit that proposition of a ransom by auction, because it is a thing] "justified by no analogy."

m. [I cannot admit that proposition of a ransom by auction, because it is a thing] "without example of our ancestors."

n. [I cannot admit that proposition of a ransom by auction, because it is a thing] "without root in the Constitution."

o. [I cannot admit that proposition of a ransom by auction, because] "It is neither reg-

ular parliamentary taxation, nor colony grant."

p. [I cannot admit that proposition of a ransom by auction, because] "It is an experiment which must be fatal in the end to our Constitution." Page 115, lines 10–20

q. [I cannot admit that proposition of a ransom by auction, because] "It does not give satisfaction to the complaint of the colonies." Page 116, line 16

r. [I cannot admit that proposition of ransom by auction, because] "this method of ransom by auction, unless it be universally accepted, will plunge you into great and inextricable difficulties." Page 117, line 4

P. 44, b 4. CHAINS OF REASONING.

a. "I mean to give peace. Peace implies reconciliation; and where there has been a material dispute, reconciliation does in a manner always imply concession on the one part or on the other." Page 44, line 24

b. "In this state of things, I make no difficulty in affirming that the proposal ought to originate from us. Great and acknowledged force is not impaired, either in effect or in opinion, by an unwillingness to exert itself. The superior power may offer peace with honour and with safety. Such an offer from such a power will be attributed to magnanimity. But the concessions of the weak are the concessions of fear." Page 45, line 1

c. "*Experimentum in corpore vili* is a good rule which will ever make me adverse to any trial

of experiments on what is certainly the most valuable of all subjects,—the peace of this empire." Page 115, line 15

P. 46, 3 5. REFUTATION OF SYLLOGISMS.

a. "America, gentlemen say, is a noble object;
P. 37 it is an object well worth fighting for. Certainly it is, if fighting a people be the best way of gaining them." Page 55, line 24

Reduced to logical form, this passage is seen to hold the following syllogism:

Major premise: Desirable colonies can best be held by force.

Minor premise: The American Colonies are desirable colonies.

Conclusion: The American Colonies can best be held by force.

This syllogism, Burke attacks by endeavoring to show that its major premise is not the statement of a universal truth. In support of his contention, he submits the following considerations:

(1) There is a better way,—prudent management. Page 56, line 5

(2) Force is temporary. Page 56, line 11

(3) Force is uncertain. It may fail; in which case, you are without further resource. Page 56, line 16

(4) Force impairs the object sought by weakening the strength of the empire. Page 56, line 24

(5) We have no experience in favor of force. Page 57, line 8

(6) The temper and character of Americans make the use of force inadvisable. Page 57, line 20

b. "Here, Sir, I should close; but I plainly perceive some objections remain which I ought, if possible, to remove. The first will be that, in resorting to the doctrine of our ancestors as contained in the preamble to the Chester Act, I prove too much; that the grievance from a want of representation, stated in that preamble, goes to the whole of legislation as well as to taxation; and that the colonies, grounding themselves upon that doctrine, will apply it to all parts of legislative authority."

Page 110, line 19

Reduced to logical form, this passage is seen to hold the following syllogism:

Major premise: The principle of No Taxation without Representation nullifies all legislation.

Minor premise: The colonists invoke the principle of No Taxation without Representation.

Conclusion: The colonists nullify all legislation.

P. 48, c This syllogism, Burke attacks by endeavoring to show that its conclusion is a *non sequitur*. In support of his contention, he submits the following considerations:

(1) "The words are the words of Parliament, and not mine; and [that] all false and inconclusive inferences drawn from them are not mine, for I heartily disclaim any such inference." "The object of grievance in my resolution, I have taken not from the Chester, but from the Durham Act, which confines the hardship of want of representation to the case of subsidies, and which, therefore, falls in exactly with the case of the colonies."

Page 111, line 3

(2) In such matters as these, the theory of the conduct of men differs widely from their practice. Page 111, line 28

(3) The interest of the colonists in the grandeur and glory of England would prevent them from taking such a stand as that indicated in the conclusion. Page 113, line 19

c. "It is said, indeed, that this power of granting, vested in the American assemblies, would dissolve the unity of the empire."

Page 114, line 4

Reduced to logical form, this passage is seen to hold the following syllogism:

Major premise: Concession dissolves the unity of the empire.

Minor premise: My plan is concession.

Conclusion: My plan dissolves the unity of the empire.

P. 46, a This syllogism, Burke attacks by endeavoring to show that its major premise is not the statement of a universal truth. In support of his contention, Burke submits the following considerations:

(1) The example of Wales.

(2) The example of Chester.

(3) The example of Durham.

(4) The example of Ireland. Page 114, line 6

d. " 'But what,' says the financier, 'is peace to us without money? Your plan gives us no revenue.' " Page 128, line 29

P. 41, d This passage is an enthymeme, and may be expanded into the following syllogism:

Major premise: Concession yields no revenue.

Minor premise: My plan is concession.

Conclusion: My plan yields no revenue.

P. 46, a This syllogism Burke attacks by endeavoring to show that its major premise is not the statement of a universal truth. In support of his contention, he submits the following considerations:

(1) The power of refusal, on the part of the subject is the first of all revenues.
Page 121, line 2

(*a*) The example of the House of Commons in England.
Page 121, line 3; page 125, line 20

(2) The desire which all men have naturally of supporting the honour of their own government. Page 121, line 24

(3) The emulation of parties will produce a voluntary revenue. Page 122, line 9

(4) Concession will produce more revenue than compulsion; to compel the colonies to a sum certain, either in the way of ransom or in the way of compulsory compact would not only be an act of injustice, but would be the worst economy in the world. Page 123, line 1

P. 52, 2, a 6. CAUSE AND EFFECT ARGUMENTS.

a. Introductory statement:

"This fierce spirit of liberty is stronger in the English colonies, probably, than in any other people of the earth; and this from a great variety of powerful causes:

(1) The people of the colonies are descendants of Englishmen.

(2) They are further confirmed in this pleasing error by the form of their provincial legislative assemblies.

(3) Religion, always a principle of energy, in this new people is no way worn out or

impaired; and their mode of professing it is also one main cause of this free spirit.

(4) There is, however, a circumstance attending these [Southern] colonies which, in my opinion . . . makes the spirit of liberty still more high and haughty than in those to the northward. It is, that in Virginia and the Carolinas they have a vast multitude of slaves.

(5) Permit me, Sir, to add another circumstance in our colonies, which contributes no mean part towards the growth and effect of this untractable spirit: I mean their education.

(6) The last cause of this disobedient spirit in the colonies is hardly less powerful than the rest, as it is not merely moral, but laid deep in the natural constitution of things. Three thousand miles of ocean lie between you and them." Page 58, line 2

b. Summarizing statement:

"Then, Sir, from these six capital sources: of descent, of form of government, of religion in the northern provinces, of manners in the Southern, of education, of the remoteness of situation from the first mover of government,—from all these causes a fierce spirit of liberty has grown up."

Page 65, line 13

c. "It [this fierce spirit of liberty] has grown with the growth of the people in your colonies, and increased with the increase of their wealth: a spirit that, unhappily meeting with

an exercise of power in England, which, however lawful, is not reconcilable to any ideas of liberty, much less with theirs, has kindled this flame that is ready to consume us." Page 65, line 18

P. 55 (1) 7. REFUTATION OF CAUSE AND EFFECT ARGUMENT.

a. "When we allege that it is against reason to tax a people under so many restraints in trade as the Americans, the noble lord in the blue ribbon shall tell you that the restraints on trade are futile and useless, of no advantage to us, and of no burden to those on whom they are imposed; that the trade to America is not secured by the Acts of Navigation, but by the natural and irresistible advantage of a commercial preference." Page 83, line 19

Burke attacks this argument that the trade to America is the result of a commercial preference by attempting to show that commercial preference is

P. 55, 1 (b) inadequate to produce the effect claimed.

(1) The opponents themselves admit this when pressed, and in so doing, are forced into an absurd position.

"Then, Sir, you keep up revenue laws which are mischievous in order to preserve trade laws that are useless." Page 84, line 12

(2) The trade laws are still in many ways of great use to us, and in former times they have been of the greatest. Page 84, line 20

P. 55, 1 (a) *b.* The Trade Laws are not the cause of the present dispute with the colonies.

(1) The commercial dispute did not, in order of time, precede the dispute on taxation.

(2) The public and avowed origin of this quarrel, on the part of the Americans, was on taxation.

(3) The repeal of the taxes will bring peace. This shows that taxes and not trade laws are the real cause of the quarrel. Page 85, line 1

8. THE ARGUMENT FROM SILENCE.

a. "We see the sense of the crown and the sense of Parliament on the productive nature of a *revenue by grant.* Now search the same journals for the produce of the *revenue by imposition.* Where is it? Let us know the volume and the page. What is the gross, what is the net produce? To what service is it applied? How have you appropriated its surplus? What, can none of the many skillful index-makers that we are now employing find any trace of it? Well, let them and that rest together. But are the journals, which say nothing of the revenue, as silent on the discontent? Oh, no! a child may find it. It is the melancholy burden and blot of every page." Page 105, line 6

P. 61, c 9. ARGUMENTS FROM EXAMPLE.

a. "The fact is so; and these people of the southern colonies are much more strongly and with a higher and more stubborn spirit attached to liberty than those to the northward. Such were all the ancient commonwealths; such were our Gothic ancestors; such in our days were the Poles; and such will be all masters of slaves, who are not slaves themselves. In such a people, the

haughtiness of domination combines with the spirit of freedom, fortifies it, and renders it invincible." Page 62, line 18

b. An argument from example to prove the proposition that, "in large bodies the circulation of power must be less vigorous at the extremities."

(1) The example of Turkey.

(2) The example of Spain.

Page 64, line 28

c. "But, Sir, I am sure that I shall not be misled when, in a case of constitutional difficulty, I consult the genius of the English Constitution. Consulting at that oracle . . . I found four capital examples in a similar case before me: those of Ireland, Wales, Chester, and Durham." Page 87, line 2

(1) The example of Ireland.

Page 87, line 9

(2) The example of Wales.

Page 89, line 14

(3) The example of Chester.

Page 92, line 9

(4) The example of Durham.

Page 93, line 27

(5) The application of the above examples to the case of America.

Page 94, line 10

These "four capital examples" may be summarized, using wherever possible the language of Burke, as follows:

Ireland has been made a great and flourishing kingdom, and has been attached to the empire by the bestowal of English laws and liberties, and

nothing else could ever have made that country English in civility and allegiance. When Wales was conquered, it was not looked upon as any part of the realm of England; it was not until the Welsh were given all the rights and privileges of English subjects—including representation in Parliament—that the tumults subsided, obedience was restored; peace, order, and civilization followed in the train of liberty. Chester, little less distempered than Wales, received the same relief from its oppressions, and the same remedy to its disorders, and has demonstrated that freedom, and not servitude, is the cure for anarchy. The same treatment was extended to Durham, and in this case, Parliament specifically recognized the equity of not suffering any considerable district in which the British subjects may act as a body to be taxed without their own voice in the grant. If these examples avail anything, what can be said against applying them with regard to America? In every essential element, the cases are parallel.

d. "But, Sir, the object of grievance in my resolution I have not taken from the Chester, but from the Durham Act, which confines the hardship of want of representation to the case of subsidies, and which therefore falls in exactly with the case of the colonies."

Page 111, line 17

e. "Cannot you in England, cannot you at this time of day, cannot you, an House of Commons, trust to the principle that has raised so mighty a revenue and accumulated a debt of near 140 millions in this country? Is this principle to be true in England and false

everywhere else? Is it not true in Ireland? Has it not hitherto been true in the colonies? Why should you presume that in any country a body duly constituted for any function will neglect to perform its duty and abdicate its trust? Such a presumption would go against all governments in all modes."

Page 121, line 12

P. 67 10. REFUTATION OF THE ARGUMENT FROM EXAMPLE.

a. "I allow indeed that the empire of Germany raises her revenue and her troops by quotas and contingents; but the revenue of the empire and the army of the empire is the worst revenue and the worst army in the world."

Page 119, line 13

P. 65 (a) 11. THE ARGUMENT *a fortiori.*

a. "But America is virtually represented. What! does the electric force of virtual representation more easily pass over the Atlantic than pervade Wales, which lies in your neighborhood? or than Chester and Durham, surrounded by abundance of representation that is actual and palpable? But, Sir, your ancestors thought this sort of virtual representation, however ample, to be totally insufficient for the freedom of the inhabitants of territories that are so near and comparatively so inconsiderable. How then can I think it sufficient for those which are infinitely greater and infinitely more remote?" Page 94, line 27

b. "A revenue from America transmitted hither,—do not delude yourselves; you never can receive it,—no, not a shilling. We have

experience that from remote countries it is not to be expected. If, when you attempted to extract revenue from Bengal, you were obliged to return in loan what you had taken in imposition, what can you expect from North America? For certainly, if ever there was a country qualified to produce wealth, it is India; or an institution for the transmission, it is the East India Company. America has none of these aptitudes."

Page 123, line 6

P. 68, d 12. ARGUMENTS FROM ANALOGY.

a. "But it will be said, is not this American trade an unnatural protuberance that has drawn the juices from the rest of the body? The reverse. It is the very food that has nourished every other part into its present magnitude." Page 50, line 15

b. "For some time past the Old World has been fed from the New. The scarcity which you have felt would have been a desolating famine if this child of your old age, with a true filial piety, with a Roman charity, had not put the full breast of its youthful exuberance to the mouth of its exhausted parent."

Page 54, line 1

c. "Their love of liberty, as with you, fixed and attached on this specific point of taxing. . . . Here they felt its pulse; and as they found that beat, they thought themselves sick or sound." Page 59, line 19

d. "These are deep questions, where great names militate against each other, where reason is perplexed, and an appeal to the

authorities only thickens the confusion: for high and reverent authorities lift up their heads on both sides, and there is no sure footing in the middle. This point is the great

'Serbonian bog,
Betwixt Damiata and Mount Casius old,
Where armies whole have sunk.'

I do not intend to be overwhelmed in that bog, though in such respectable company."

Page 80, line 23

e. "During the reigns of the kings of Spain of the Austrian family, whenever they were at a loss in the Spanish councils, it was common for their statesmen to say that they ought to consult the genius of Philip the Second. The genius of Philip the Second might mislead them; and the issue of their affairs showed that they had not chosen the most perfect standard. But, Sir, I am sure that I shall not be misled when, in a case of constitutional difficulty, I consult the genius of the English Constitution."

Page 86, line 24

f. "It is the genuine produce of the ancient, rustic, manly, home-bred sense of this country,—I did not dare to rub off a particle of the venerable rust that rather adorns and preserves, than destroys, the metal. It would be a profanation to touch with a tool the stones which construct the sacred altar of peace. I would not violate with modern polish the ingenuous and noble roughness of these truly constitutional materials."

Page 98, line 16

g. "Above all things, I was resolved not to be guilty of tampering,—the odious vice of restless and unstable minds. I put my foot in the tracks of our forefathers, where I can neither wander nor stumble."

Page 98, line 23

h. "From this day forward, the empire is never to know an hour's tranquillity. An intestine fire will be kept alive in the bowels of the colonies, which one time or other must consume this whole empire." Page 119, line 10

i. "Most may be taken where most is accumulated. And what is the soil or climate where experience has not uniformly proved that the voluntary flow of heaped-up plenty, bursting from the weight of its own rich luxuriance, has ever run with a more copious stream of revenue than could be squeezed from the dry husks of oppressed indigence by the straining of all the politic machinery in the world?" Page 122, line 1

j. "The parties are the gamesters; but government keeps the table, and is sure to be the winner in the end. When this game is played, I really think it is more to be feared that the people will be exhausted than that government will not be supplied."

Page 122, line 14

III

THE DESTRUCTIVE FORMS

P. 74, 11
P. 76, c

1. THE ABSURDITY.

a. "Our late experience has taught us that many of those fundamental principles for-

merly believed infallible are either not of the importance they were imagined to be, or that we have not at all adverted to some other far more important and far more powerful principles, which entirely overrule those we had considered as omnipotent. . . . For, in order to prove that the Americans have no right to their liberties, we are every day endeavoring to subvert the maxims which preserve the whole spirit of our own. To prove that Americans ought not to be free, we are obliged to depreciate the value of freedom itself; and we never seem to gain a paltry advantage over them in debate, without attacking some of those principles, or deriding some of those feelings, for which our ancestors have shed their blood."

Page 68, line 13

b. "Now in such unfortunate quarrels among the component parts of a great political union of communities, I can scarcely conceive anything more completely imprudent than for the head of the empire to insist that, if any privilege is pleaded against his will or his acts, [that] his whole authority is denied; instantly to proclaim rebellion, to beat to arms, and to put the offending provinces under the ban. Will not this, Sir, very soon teach the provinces to make no distinction on their part? Will it not teach them that the government against which a claim of liberty is tantamount to high treason is a government to which submission is equivalent to slavery? It may not always be quite

convenient to impress dependent communities with such an idea."

Page 76, line 27

P. 78, b 2. THE DILEMMA.

a. "Let it also be considered that either in the present confusion you settle a permanent contingent, which will and must be trifling, and then you have no effectual revenue; or you change the quota at every exigency, and then on every new repartition you will have a new quarrel." Page 118, line 26

b. "Now suppose it is Virginia that refuses to appear at your auction, while Maryland and North Carolina bid handsomely for their ransom, and are taxed to your quota: how will you put these colonies on a par? Will you tax the tobacco of Virginia? If you do, you give its death-wound to your English revenue at home and to one of the very greatest articles of your own foreign trade. [On the other hand] If you tax the import of that rebellious colony, what do you tax but your own manufactures or the goods of some other obedient and already well-taxed colony?" Page 118, line 1

P. 80, c 3. THE RESIDUE.

a. "Sir, if I were capable of engaging you to an equal attention, I would state that, as far as I am capable of discerning, there are but three ways of proceeding relative to this stubborn spirit which prevails in your colonies and disturbs your government. These are: to change that spirit, as inconvenient, by removing the causes; to prosecute

it as criminal; or to comply with it as necessary. I would not be guilty of an imperfect enumeration; I can think of but these three."

After considering the first two ways enumerated above, Burke states his conclusion as follows: "If, then, the removal of the causes of this spirit of American liberty be for the greater part, or rather entirely, impracticable; if the ideas of criminal process be inapplicable, or, if applicable, are in the highest degree inexpedient; what way yet remains? No way is open but the third and last,—to comply with the American spirit as necessary; or, if you please, to submit to it as a necessary evil."

Page 69, line 11; page 79, line 13

IV

CITATIONS OF TESTIMONY AND AUTHORITY

P. 88 (3) 1. TESTIMONY.

a. "I have in my hand two accounts: one a comparative state[ment] of the export trade of England to its colonies, as it stood in the year 1704, and as it stood in the year 1772; the other a state[ment] of the export trade of this country to its colonies alone, as it stood in 1772, compared with the whole trade of England to all parts of the world (the colonies included) in the year 1704. They are from good vouchers: the latter period from the accounts on your table, the earlier from an original manuscript of Dave-

P. 95, b (1)

P. 96 (5)

nant, who first established the Inspector-General's office, which has been ever since his time so abundant a source of parliamentary information."

Burke considers these two statements at length, and finally concludes their consideration as follows: "This is the relative proportion of the importance of the colonies at these two periods: and all reasoning concerning our mode of treating them must have this proportion as its basis; or it is a reasoning weak, rotten and sophistical."

Page 48, line 15—page 50, line 26

b. "Excuse me, Sir, if . . . I resume this comparative view once more. You have seen it on a large scale; look at it on a small one. I will point out to your attention a particular instance of it in the single province of Pennsylvania. In the year 1704 that province called for £11,459 in value of your commodities, native and foreign. This was the whole. What did it demand in 1772? Why, nearly fifty times as much; for in that year the export to Pennsylvania was £507,909 nearly equal to the export to all the colonies together in the first period."

Page 52, line 24

c. "I have been told by an eminent bookseller that in no branch of his business, after tracts of popular devotion, were so many books as those on the law exported to the plantations. The colonists have now fallen into the way of printing them for their own use. I hear that they have sold nearly as many of Black-

stone's *Commentaries* in America as in Eng-
P. 96 (5) land. General Gage marks out this disposition very particularly in a letter on your table. He states that all the people in his government are lawyers or smatterers in law, and that in Boston they have been enabled by successful chicane wholly to evade many parts of one of your capital penal constitutions." Page 63, line 7

P. 89 (4) 2. AUTHORITY.

a. "I only wish you to recognize, for the theory, the ancient constitutional policy of this kingdom with regard to representation, as that policy has been declared in acts of Parliament." Page 96, line 9

b. "This is a plain matter of fact . . . and . . . it is laid down in the language of the constitution; it is taken nearly *verbatim* from acts of Parliament." Page 97, line 22

c. "If it runs into any [of these] errors, the fault is not mine. It is the language of your own ancient acts of Parliament." Page 98, line 11

d. "Were they not touched and grieved by the duties of 1767, which were likewise repealed, and which Lord Hillsborough tells you (for the ministry) were laid contrary to the true principle of commerce?" Page 100, line 3

e. "Is not the resolution of the noble lord in the blue ribbon, now standing on your journals, the strongest of all proofs that parliamentary subsidies really touched and grieved them?" Page 100, line 10

f. "I shall begin to travel only where the journals give me light,—resolving to deal in nothing but fact authenticated by parliamentary record, and to build myself wholly on that solid basis."

Burke then introduces a resolution of the House of Commons adopted on the fourth of April, 1748; a message from the king on the twenty-eighth of January, 1756; comments on a resolution of the House passed on the third of February, 1756; and then adds: "It will not be necessary to go through all the testimonies which your own records have given to the truth of my resolutions. I will only refer you to the places in the journals." Then follow fourteen references by dates, to the Journals of the House.

Page 102, line 12

g. "When Mr. Grenville began to form his system of American revenue, he stated in this House that the colonies were then in debt two million six hundred thousand pounds sterling money, and was of opinion they would discharge that debt in four years. . . . In fact, however, Mr. Grenville was mistaken. The funds given for sinking the debt did not prove quite so ample as both the colonies and he expected."

Page 104, line 15

h. "I think, then, I am, from those journals, justified in the sixth and last resolution."

Page 105, line 19

i. "To this objection . . . wishing as little as any man living to impair the smallest

particle of our supreme authority, I answer that *the words are the words of Parliament, and not mine.*" Page 110, line 28

P. 96 (5) *j.* "I have chosen the words of an act of Parliament which Mr. Grenville, surely a tolerably zealous and very judicious advocate for the sovereignty of Parliament, formerly moved to have read at your table in confirmation of his tenets." Page 111, line 6

P. 96 (5) *k.* "It is true that Lord Chatham considered these preambles as declaring strongly in favour of his opinions. He was a no less powerful advocate for the privileges of the Americans." Page 111, line 10

l. "But, Sir, the object of grievance in my resolution I have not taken from the Chester, but from the Durham Act." Page 111, line 17

m. "Evident necessity and tacit consent have done the business in an instant. So well they have done it that Lord Dunmore (the account is among the fragments on your table) tells you that the new institution is infinitely better obeyed than the ancient government ever was in its most fortunate period." Page 67, line 10

V

P. 21 (3) ## THE CONCLUSION

P. 90, D (1) 1. A SUMMARY contrasting the two policies under consideration.

a. "Compare the two. This I offer to give you is plain and simple; the other full of perplexed and intricate mazes. This is mild;

that harsh. This is found by experience effectual for its purposes; the other is a new project. This is universal; the other calculated for certain colonies only. This is immediate in its conciliatory operation; the other remote, contingent, full of hazard. Mine is what becomes the dignity of a ruling people,—gratuitous, unconditional, and not held out as a matter of bargain and sale."

Page 120, line 5

P. 90, D (2) 2. A REPETITION AND ENFORCEMENT of the Main Constructive Argument. Pages 124 to 127

NOTE IN EXPLANATION OF HEAD-ON BRIEFS FOR DEBATE

Probably the most frequent criticism of debate is that the argument is made, not on the essential question at issue, but on less important points, and that the debaters discuss quite different propositions, so that throughout the exercise, there is scarcely a single logical contest wherein both sides are engaged, the one in sustaining, the other in overthrowing, the same proposition. This gives to the debate, the effect of a desultory discussion, in which assertion often appears to be more valuable than demonstration.

The purpose of the following briefs is to give practice in holding the argument to the exact proposition before the house. Where these propositions—affirmative and negative—are squarely opposed to each other, the debate becomes a matter of the logical demonstration of the main issues; and this is what debate ought to be.

In preparing these briefs, the writer has had before him many briefs prepared by college men and many of these have been carried into the minor details of the discussion. But in the briefs printed here, the number of points in each has been purposely reduced in number, in order that the debaters might concentrate their efforts on the most essential considerations in each question at issue.

The references have been carefully verified, and will be found to bear directly upon the propositions under which they are placed.

BRIEFS FOR HEAD-ON DEBATES, WITH

RESOLVED: That United States Senators should be elected by direct vote of the people.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. The popular election of Senators would be in line with the development of our political institutions.
Atlantic, Vol. 92, p. 436; Vol. 80, p. 49.
Forum, Vol. 21, p. 394.

II. The popular election of Senators would tend to purify state politics.
Atlantic, Vol. 68, p. 228.
Forum, Vol. 21, pp. 391, 394.
Nation, Vol. 54, p. 45.

III. The popular election of Senators would make it impossible for a State to be unrepresented in the United States Senate.
Forum, Vol. 21, p. 392.
Nation, Vol. 74, p. 222.

IV. Popular election would make Senators directly responsible to the people.
Forum, Vol. 21, p. 390.

SOME REFERENCES TO MATERIAL

RESOLVED: That United States Senators should be elected by direct vote of the people.

NEGATIVE

I. The present method of electing Senators is a check to dangerous political tendencies.

Forum, Vol. 18, p. 270; Vol. 23, pp. 134, 142.

II. The popular election of Senators would increase incentives for the corruption of the franchise.

Outlook, Vol. 61, p. 34.

Independent, Vol. 52, p. 1292.

III. During the entire existence of the Senate, the total period during which states have been unrepresented, owing to the failure of their legislatures to act, has been so inconsiderable as to constitute no valid reason for such a radical change.

IV. Experience has shown that two legislative bodies, chosen on different principles, best serve the interests of popular government.

Forum, Vol. 18, p. 277.

Scribner's, Vol. 34, p. 541.

Arena, Vol. 24, p. 14.

RESOLVED: That members of the President's Cabinet should have the right to be present and speak in the House of Representatives.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. By enabling members of Congress to question directly, the official heads of government departments, the delays incident to the present system would be eliminated.
Atlantic, Vol. 50, p. 95.
No. Am. Rev., Vol. 111, p. 334.
Nation, Vol. 28, p. 243.

II. It would be a wiser use than the present method, of the energy and ability of cabinet officers.
Atlantic, Vol. 50, p. 98; Vol. 57, p. 552.
Nation, Vol. 28, p. 244.

III. It would increase the dignity and efficiency of the House of Representatives.
Atlantic, Vol. 50, p. 97; Vol. 65, p. 768.
Nation, Vol. 32, p. 108.

IV. It would strengthen the Federal Government by bringing two independent departments into closer relations.
Atlantic, Vol. 50, pp. 95, 98; Vol. 65, p. 771.
No. Am. Rev., Vol. 111, p. 350.

RESOLVED: That the nomination of officers by caucuses, or primaries, should be abandoned.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. Definition of the Caucus System. This system is opposed to democratic principles of government.
No. Am. Rev., Vol. 137, p. 257.

RESOLVED: That members of the President's Cabinet should have the right to be present and speak in the House of Representatives.

NEGATIVE

I. Such a radical change is unnecessary; the present system is satisfactory.
Atlantic, Vol. 57, p. 181.
No. Am. Rev., Vol. 124, p. 21.
Nation, Vol. 16, p. 234.

II. It would add unnecessarily to the duties of officers who are already overburdened.

III. It would impair the dignity and efficiency of the Executive branch of the government.
Atlantic, Vol. 57, p. 182.

IV. It would radically change our present constitutional policy by uniting two departments which ought to be kept absolutely separate.
Atlantic, Vol. 57, pp. 183, 188.

RESOLVED: That the nomination of officers by caucuses, or primaries, should be abandoned.

NEGATIVE

I. In the United States, the Caucus System has worked satisfactorily; it is essentially democratic, in its nature.
Arena, Vol. 30, p. 299.

Arena, Vol. 30, p. 298.
Forum, Vol. 33, p. 99.

II. The Caucus System fosters evils that are dangerous to good government.
Atlantic, Vol. 52, p. 325.
Arena, Vol. 28, p. 590.

III. There are better methods of nomination than the Caucus; one of these should be adopted.
Forum, Vol. 14, p. 192.
Arena, Vol. 28, p. 587; Vol. 35, p. 587.

IV. Our country has outgrown the Caucus System of nomination.
Atlantic, Vol. 52, p. 483.
Arena, Vol. 28, p. 591.

RESOLVED: That direct legislation by the people would improve political conditions in the United States.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. Definition of direct legislation. Direct legislation would remove much of the machinery, with its resultant indirectness, which now stands between the people and their representatives.
No. Am. Rev., Vol. 177, p. 79.
Independent, Vol. 57, p. 1277.
Pub. Op., Vol. 23, p. 583.

II. Direct legislation would improve the character of the representatives and of the legislation.
No. Am. Rev., Vol. 165, p. 240; Vol. 170, p. 367.
Independent, Vol. 54, p. 429.

Atlantic, Vol. 78, p. 6.

II. The evils complained of are not due to the nature of the Caucus System; reform, not abolition is the remedy.
Forum, Vol. 2, p. 499.
Arena, Vol. 28, p. 588.

III. The proposed substitutes for the Caucus are impractical.
Arena, Vol. 28, pp. 589, 592.

IV. The Caucus System has continued to be, and is to-day, simple, practical and efficient.
Arena, Vol. 28, p. 589; Vol. 30, p. 295.

RESOLVED: That direct legislation by the people would improve political conditions in the United States.

NEGATIVE

I. There are no serious objections to the present system. It cannot be shown to be the cause of the evils that exist in our government.
Arena, Vol. 24, p. 497.
No. Am. Rev., Vol. 175, p. 644.

II. It cannot be shown that either the character of the representatives or the character of legislation would be improved by the proposed method.
Atlantic, Vol. 73, p. 523.
Arena, Vol. 24, pp. 50, 504.

III. Wherever it has been tried, direct legislation has produced desirable results.
No. Am. Rev., Vol. 177, p. 78.
Pub. Op., Vol. 18, p. 440.
Nation, Vol. 74, p. 364.

RESOLVED: That State Legislatures should be elected by a system of proportional representation.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. Definition of proportional representation. The present system is essentially unjust.
Arena, Vol. 7, p. 290; Vol. 28, p. 610; Vol. 32, p. 269.
Atlantic, Vol. 69, p. 542.

II. The proposed system would remedy the existing injustice.
Arena, Vol. 7, p. 294; Vol. 28, p. 613; Vol. 32, p. 269.

III. The proposed system would modify the power of party organizations.
Arena, Vol. 10, p. 770.
Atlantic, Vol. 69, p. 678.
Public Opinion, Vol. 18, p. 634.

RESOLVED: That the methods by which the negroes in the southern States are excluded from the franchise are justifiable.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. In practice, negro suffrage in the South has proved a failure.
Forum, Vol. 1, p. 129; Vol. 14, p. 798; Vol. 30, p. 216.

III. Where direct legislation has been tried, the results have been unfavorable to its further adoption.
Arena, Vol. 24, pp. 51, 494.
Nation, Vol. 59, pp. 152, 193.

RESOLVED: That State Legislatures should be elected by a system of proportional representation.

NEGATIVE

I. The present system is substantially fair and just.
No. Am. Rev., Vol. 104, p. 209.

II. The proposed system is impractical.
Nation, Vol. 37, p. 347.

III. Party organizations are necessary under a Democratic form of government.
Century, Vol. 6, p. 270.
Atlantic, Vol. 101, p. 145.

RESOLVED: That the methods by which the negroes in the southern States are excluded from the franchise are justifiable.

NEGATIVE

I. Negro suffrage in the South has worked well in many ways.
Forum, Vol. 6, p. 396; Vol. 10, p. 338.

II. The effort, by legislation, to make the negro the political equal of the white man was a grave mistake.
Forum, Vol. 6, pp. 589, 595; Vol. 31, p. 225.

III. When a superior and an inferior race dwell together, it is natural that the superior race should rule.
Forum, Vol. 6, pp. 145, 588; Vol. 14, pp. 798, 801; Vol. 26, p. 578.

RESOLVED: That the Republican party is entitled to popular support.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. The Republican party is entitled to support for what it has already done for the nation.
Rev. of Revs., Vol. 30, p. 43.
Forum, Vol. 15, p. 251.

II. The Republican party is entitled to support because of the principles for which it stands.
Atlantic, Vol. 94, p. 552.
Forum, Vol. 3, p. 544.

III. The Republican party is entitled to support because of its ability in constructive statesmanship.
Atlantic, Vol. 95, p. 146.
No. Am. Rev., Vol. 156, p. 58.

II. Negro suffrage in the South was based on the fundamental principle of justice, and should be maintained.
Forum, Vol. 7, p. 86; Vol. 27, p. 720.

III. To deprive the southern negro of the right of suffrage is virtually to return him to a condition of slavery.
Forum, Vol. 1, p. 568; Vol. 7, pp. 87, 147.

RESOLVED: That the Republican party is entitled to popular support.

NEGATIVE

I. Much that the Republican party has done has been of positive detriment to the people, and hostile to the genius of free institutions.
Atlantic, Vol. 94, p. 556.
No. Am. Rev., Vol. 159, p. 388.
Nation, Vol. 47, p. 5.

II. The principles advocated by the Republican party are economically and morally unsound.
Atlantic, Vol. 94, p. 558.
No. Am. Rev., Vol. 154, p. 651.

III. The Republican party should be condemned for what it has failed to do.
Atlantic, Vol. 94, p. 567; Vol. 101, p. 584.

RESOLVED: That every citizen should give allegiance to some organized political party.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. For government by the people, political parties constitute the only efficient machinery ever devised.
Atlantic, Vol. 101, p. 145.
World's Work, Vol. 8, p. 4810.

II. The habit of independent voting is not for the best interests of government by the people.

III. The evils of party government can best be remedied by working within the party.
Autobiography of Seventy Years, George F. Hoar, Vol. 1, pp. 196–200.

RESOLVED: That a Protective Tariff is a commercial and economic advantage to the United States.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. Definitions of protection and free trade. A Protective Tariff develops the natural resources of a country.
No. Am. Rev., Vol. 175, p. 746.
Forum, Vol. 28, p. 514.

II. A Protective Tariff creates new industries.
Outlook, Vol. 79, p. 432.
No. Am. Rev., Vol. 139, pp. 373, 391.

RESOLVED: That every citizen should give allegiance to some organized political party.

NEGATIVE

I. For government by the people, political parties are not necessary.
World's Work, Vol. 12, p. 7923.

II. Independent voting is necessary to save the people from the tyranny of party leaders.
No. Am. Rev., Vol. 134, p. 450.
Nation, Vol. 47, p. 4.

III. To reform political parties from within is not practicable.
Nation, Vol. 20, p. 308; Vol. 71, p. 182.

RESOLVED: That a Protective Tariff is a commercial and economic advantage to the United States.

NEGATIVE

I. Such natural resources as protection develops become the property of monopolies, and do not benefit the people.
Century, Vol. 52, p. 850.
Independent, Vol. 57, p. 1416.

II. Government aid to one class of citizens, at the expense of another class, is demoralizing.
Outlook, Vol. 79, p. 437.

III. A Protective Tariff makes higher wages and better conditions of living for the workingman.
No. Am. Rev., Vol. 176, p. 46; Vol. 139, pp. 394, 400.
Outlook, Vol. 79, p. 434.
Forum, Vol. 14, p. 242.

IV. A Protective Tariff is a desirable form of taxation.
Century, Vol. 52, p. 852.
No. Am. Rev., Vol. 164, p. 580.

RESOLVED: That all contributions of $100 and over, to political parties, should be publicly accounted for by the officers receiving them.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. Publicity will make more difficult the corrupt use of money in political campaigns.
Forum, Vol. 15, p. 151.
Arena, Vol. 10, p. 845.

II. Publicity will reduce the vast amounts of money contributed for campaign expenses, which amounts are, in themselves, a menace to the purity of the franchise.
Nation, Vol. 84, p. 446; Vol. 86, p. 504.

III. The intelligent public opinion of the country now demands that such contributions shall be made public.
Forum, Vol. 14, p. 39.
Outlook, Vol. 79, p. 690.

Forum, Vol. 6, p. 282.
No. Am. Rev., Vol. 136, p. 571.

III. If protection makes higher wages, the benefit is offset by the increased cost of living, and the economic extravagance that always accompanies a period of protection.
Independent, Vol. 57, p. 1416.
Forum, Vol. 6, p. 167, 281; Vol. 10, p. 4.
No. Am. Rev., Vol. 136, p. 270; Vol. 147, p. 341.

IV. Protection is a baneful form of taxation, giving rise to fraud, smuggling, political corruption, and social extravagance.
Nation, Vol. 64, p. 297; Vol. 75, p. 165.
Forum, Vol. 6, p. 277.

RESOLVED: That all contributions of $100 and over, to political parties, should be publicly accounted for by the officers receiving them.

NEGATIVE

I. Publicity will make little, if any, difference in the use of money in political campaigns.
Outlook, Vol. 65, p. 115.

II. A vast amount of money is necessary to meet the proper and legitimate expenses of a presidential campaign. Publicity will make it impossible to do the necessary work.
Outlook, Vol. 81, p. 549.
World's Work, Vol. 12, p. 8070.

III. The demand for publicity does not come from the people, but from a few politicians who seek to make political capital out of it.
World's Work, Vol. 12, p. 8072.

RESOLVED: That the United States should maintain a large navy

AFFIRMATIVE

I. As an insurance against war.

II. To maintain our right position among the nations.
Sea Power in History, Mahan.

III. To enable us to fulfill our obligations to the inferior peoples committed to our care.

IV. It is a wise expenditure of our resources.

RESOLVED: That the time has come when the United States should modify its present policy of excluding Chinese immigration.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. Definition of the present policy of excluding Chinese immigration. Conditions have so changed since the enactment of the first Chinese Exclusion Law, that a certain amount of Chinese immigration is now desirable.

II. The admission of such Chinese laborers as might choose to come here would not be a menace to our social or economic institutions.

III. The policy is an act of national injustice committed against the Chinese people.

RESOLVED: That the United States should maintain a large navy.

NEGATIVE

I. There is no real danger of war.

II. A large navy is not necessary to enable us to maintain our position among the nations.

III. To meet our obligations to the inferior peoples committed to our care, we must do other things than build a great navy.

IV. The money could be expended in ways more beneficial to the people.

RESOLVED: That the time has come when the United States should modify its present policy of excluding Chinese immigration.

NEGATIVE

I. Conditions have not changed essentially since the enactment of the first Chinese Exclusion Law, and there is no valid reason why the policy, inaugurated at that time, should be modified.

II. The admission of Chinese laborers would be a menace to our social and economic institutions.

III. The policy is strictly in accord with the provisions of the treaty between the United States and China.

IV. Experience has shown that the present policy should be modified.

RESOLVED: That commercial reciprocity between the United States and Canada is desirable.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. Definition of commercial reciprocity, and statement of present conditions. Reciprocity is a wise economic policy.

II. Former reciprocity treaties produced favorable results.

III. The present commercial relations of the two countries are disadvantageous to both.

IV. The location of the two countries, and the character of their inhabitants and industries make closer trade relations easily attainable.

RESOLVED: That the United States Government should extend its system of ship subsidies.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. Statement of present system. The further development of the shipping industry in the United States is a public necessity.

II. Subsidies form an efficient means for building up the shipping industry.

III. Ship subsidies are a desirable part of our economic policy.

IV. Experience has shown that a continuation of the present policy is desirable.

RESOLVED: That commercial reciprocity between the United States and Canada is desirable.

NEGATIVE

I. Reciprocity would injure American producers, and cause a loss of revenue.

II. Former reciprocity treaties did not produce favorable results, and the policy has, for many years, been abandoned by both countries.

III. The present commercial relations are satisfactory to the people of both countries.

IV. Canada's relations to Great Britain and other considerations, make a reciprocity treaty with the United States impracticable.

RESOLVED: That the United States Government should extend its system of ship subsidies.

NEGATIVE

I. The shipping industry of the United States is in no need of such an artificial stimulus.

II. Subsidies have not proved an effective means for building up the shipping industry.

III. A system of ship subsidies is not a desirable part of our economic policy.

RESOLVED: That in the United States an income tax is practicable and desirable.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. Definition of income tax. An income tax is an equitable scheme of taxation.

II. An income tax is easily collected by the government.

III. An income tax is a form of taxation that appeals to the higher qualities of citizenship.

IV. An income tax is a permanent part of the system of taxation of most of the leading nations.

RESOLVED: That the Federal Government should own and operate the railroads in the United States.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. The ownership and operation of the railroads properly belongs to the Federal Government.

II. Government ownership and operation of the railroads would result in better service.

III. Government ownership and operation would take the railroads out of politics.

IV. Government ownership has proved successful wherever tried.

RESOLVED: That in the United States an income tax is practicable and desirable.

NEGATIVE

I. An income tax is essentially unjust in theory and in practice.

II. An income tax is a difficult tax to collect.

III. An income tax tempts the taxpayer to defraud the government.

IV. An income tax is odious in all countries where it has been adopted.

RESOLVED: That the Federal Government should own and operate the railroads in the United States.

NEGATIVE

I. The taking over of the railroads by the Federal Government would be a usurpation of power.

II. Government ownership and operation of railroads would result in increased expense and less efficient service.

III. Government ownership and operation would make the railroads a dangerous factor in politics.

IV. Where it has been tried, government ownership and operation has not been a success.

RESOLVED: That cities should employ labor when the private demand for it is largely inadequate.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. Large numbers of unemployed workingmen constitute a municipal problem which ought to be solved by the city authorities.

II. Charity, as commonly administered, in cities, is demoralizing, and fails to solve the problem.

III. The proposed system of municipal employment furnishes an efficient and practical solution of the problem.

RESOLVED: That all organizations engaged in interstate commerce should be licensed and supervised by the Federal Government.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. Great organizations of capital, while necessary, should be placed under government supervision.

II. Organizations of capital, engaged in interstate commerce, should be more directly under the supervision of the Federal Government.

III. The most efficient method of supervision is the proposed Federal license system.

RESOLVED: That cities should employ labor when the private demand for it is largely inadequate.

NEGATIVE

I. The problem of the unemployed is not a municipal problem, but is one that belongs, rather, to our organized charities.

II. Charity, properly administered, is not demoralizing, and solves the problem.

III. The proposed system of municipal employment is socialistic in its nature, and is opposed to the principles on which society is, at present, organized.

RESOLVED: That all organizations engaged in interstate commerce should be licensed and supervised by the Federal Government.

NEGATIVE

I. Recognizing the necessity of great combinations of capital, it is contended that they should be regulated by legal rather than by dangerous and unconstitutional methods.

II. The Federal Government now has all the machinery necessary properly to supervise organizations of capital engaged in interstate commerce.

III. The proposed Federal license system is crude and arbitrary, and would prove neither effective nor practical.

RESOLVED: That local option is the most satisfactory method of dealing with the liquor problem.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. Where public opinion is not in sympathy with it, prohibition is not a success.

II. The license system is morally wrong, and is unjust to the people of many communities.

III. The Dispensary and Gothenburg systems have not been successful.

IV. Local option gives the people of each locality an opportunity to decide the liquor question for themselves.

RESOLVED: That capital punishment should be abolished.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. The aim of all punishment should be deterrent; capital punishment does not diminish crime.
The Death Penalty, Palm, pp. 126–129.
No. Am. Rev., Vol. 62, pp. 50, 61.

II. Capital punishment is contrary to the moral law.

III. The abolition of capital punishment has not increased crime.

RESOLVED: That local option is the most satisfactory method of dealing with the liquor problem.

NEGATIVE

I. Prohibition, where honestly tried, has been the most satisfactory method of dealing with the liquor problem.

II. High license regulates and controls the liquor traffic, efficiently.

III. The Dispensary and Gothenburg systems have given satisfactory results.

IV. Owing to the limited territory to which it applies, local option is in danger of proving an instrument of injustice.

RESOLVED: That capital punishment should be abolished.

NEGATIVE

I. Capital punishment deters.

II. Capital punishment is sanctioned by the Bible and by the immemorial usage of mankind.
No. Am. Rev., Vol. 133, pp. 534–538.

III. The abolition of capital punishment has not proved satisfactory.
Forum, Vol. 3, p. 388.

IV. The widespread popular doubt of the expediency of capital punishment, makes it increasingly difficult to secure convictions, while executions are rare; this apparent immunity from punishment is a menace to the safety of human life.

RESOLVED: That, in a college conducted under Christian auspices, students should be required to attend church on Sunday.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. A college under Christian auspices is properly required by its patrons to develop religious character in its students.

II. A college owes it to the State to develop the highest type of citizenship, and, of this type, religious culture is a vital element.

III. The most efficient means yet devised for the attainment of the ends desired in a college under Christian auspices is required attendance upon church services.

RESOLVED: That intercollegiate athletics promote the best interests of colleges.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. Athletics promote the best interests of colleges.

IV. The increasing difficulty of securing convictions, and executions, is evidence that the law is being carefully and wisely enforced.

RESOLVED: That, in a college conducted under Christian auspices, students should be required to attend church on Sunday.

NEGATIVE

I. As a means for the development of religious character, compulsory church attendance is neither necessary nor desirable.

II. The best type of citizenship insists upon absolute freedom in matters of religion, a principle with which compulsory church attendance is entirely at variance.

III. Compulsory church attendance is inexpedient because it produces unfortunate results:
   a. Resentment against the rule.
   b. Dislike for religious services.
   c. Lack of reverence for religious things.

RESOLVED: That intercollegiate athletics promote the best interests of colleges.

NEGATIVE

I. Intercollegiate athletics, by placing undue emphasis on physical development, add a vitiating element to college athletics.

II. Intercollegiate athletics emphasize the benefits of college athletics by adding a stimulus to all students to participate.

III. Intercollegiate athletics develop college loyalty.

IV. Intercollegiate athletics bring the students of the various colleges into closer relations.

RESOLVED: That the Federal courts should be prohibited from issuing injunctions in controversies between labor and capital.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. There is no warrant in law for such injunctions.

II. Such injunctions are unnecessary; there are other adequate remedies.

III. These injunctions bring the courts into disrepute with the laboring classes.

RESOLVED: That the statute requirements for naturalization in the United States should be increased.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. The present legal requirements for naturalization are not in harmony with the dignity and value of American citizenship.

II. The growth of socialism and other movements hostile to

II. Intercollegiate contests reduce the number taking part in athletic sports, because only a few can make the teams.

III. Intercollegiate athletics are not necessary to develop college loyalty.

IV. Intercollegiate athletics, by their intense rivalry, develop in the student body, aversions toward other colleges. This narrows the individual by stimulating his prejudices.

RESOLVED: That the Federal courts should be prohibited from issuing injunctions in controversies between labor and capital.

NEGATIVE

I. Such injunctions are entirely within the legal powers of the Federal Courts.

II. Such injunctions are necessary; there is no other adequate remedy.

III. If the procedure is right, the courts should not be deterred by irrelevant considerations.

RESOLVED: That the statute requirements for naturalization in the United States should be increased.

NEGATIVE

I. The present requirements for naturalization are adequate and effective.

II. The growth of socialism, and similar movements, would

our present form of government, calls for increased safeguards for citizenship.

III. The present naturalization laws are responsible for much of the political corruption in our country.

RESOLVED: That, in the United States, the right of suffrage should be granted to women.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. The principle of woman suffrage is right. It should not wait on expediency.

II. It would purify and elevate our political life.

III. It is a matter of simple, yet substantial, justice.

RESOLVED: That the Federal Government should establish a system of postal savings banks.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. It would encourage thrift among the people.

II. It would intensify the interest of the people in the government.

III. It would safeguard the savings of the people.

IV. The necessary machinery is now largely in existence.

not be effected by the proposed changes in the naturalization laws.

III. It cannot be shown that any great amount of political corruption results from the present naturalization laws.

RESOLVED: That, in the United States, the right of suffrage should be granted to women.

NEGATIVE

I. With so many economic and political problems to be solved, it would be unwise to complicate the situation by bringing in the greatest problem of all,—woman suffrage.

II. It would tend to degrade our political life.

III. To deny the ballot to women is not injustice; suffrage is not a right but a privilege.

RESOLVED: That the Federal Government should establish a system of postal savings banks.

NEGATIVE

I. There are sufficient private agencies to encourage thrift.

II. Such a radical departure from present conditions is not necessary to popular interest in the government.

III. The savings of the people are already sufficiently well cared for.

IV. It would be necessary to create, absolutely, a banking department within the post-office department.

RESOLVED: That the Federal Government should establish a parcels post.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. It is economically desirable that the money now paid for express service should go into the national treasury.

II. The parcels post has been a success in other countries and is practicable.

III. The people demand the parcels post.

RESOLVED: That a system of old age pensions should be adopted by the United States Government.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. In some way, the aged poor have to be cared for by the community.

II. By the present methods, the aged poor are required to undergo much suffering either physical, or mental, or moral.

III. An old age pension system is the best method yet devised for the accomplishment of the desired end.

RESOLVED: That the United States should resist by force, if need be, the colonization of South America by any European nation.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. The colonization of South America, by any European power, would threaten the independence of the South American nations.

RESOLVED: That the Federal Government should establish a parcels post.

NEGATIVE

I. The government could not perform the required service as well as the express companies do at present.

II. The conditions in the United States are so different from those in European countries that the argument from example fails.

III. The government should not attempt to do what can be adequately done by private enterprise.

RESOLVED: That a system of old age pensions should be adopted by the United States Government.

NEGATIVE

I. This is a socialistic doctrine, and has no place in our present economic system.

II. To reverse the present methods would put a premium on laziness and shiftlessness.

III. The proposed system has nowhere been fully tried. It is undesirable and impracticable.

RESOLVED: That the United States should resist by force, if need be, the colonization of South America by any European nation.

NEGATIVE

I. We are not responsible for the independence of the South American nations.

II. Increased colonization of South America by European nations would be a menace to the peace of the United States.

III. The United States stands for the Republican form of government on the American continent.

RESOLVED: That in the State of [New York], a unanimous verdict should no longer be required in jury trials.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. The proposed change would greatly reduce the public expense by eliminating second trials.

II. It would remove a great incentive for the corruption of juries.

III. Justice would be expedited.

RESOLVED: That employers of labor are justified in insisting on the "open" shop.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. It is illegal to force an employer to maintain a "closed" shop.

II. The self-interest of the employer will lead him to act for the best interest of the business, and of the men in the business.

II. European colonies in South America would not menace the peace of the United States.

III. The proposed policy would prove a bar to the development of the Latin-American countries, and would tend to create hostile feelings against us on the part of other nations.

RESOLVED: That in the State of [New York], a unanimous verdict should no longer be required in jury trials.

NEGATIVE

I. The unanimous verdict is an essential part of the jury system. It has stood the test of time, and ought not to be made a question of expense.

II. The proposed change would not eliminate the alleged evils of the jury system.

III. The proposed change would tend to give hasty and unjust decisions.

RESOLVED: That employers of labor are justified in insisting on the "open" shop.

NEGATIVE

I. Men have a right to choose with whom they shall work. *Outlook*, Vol. 77, p. 630.

II. In an "open" shop, workmen are sure, neither of steady employment, uniform hours of labor, nor of uniform wages.

III. The "closed" shop secures real coöperation between the employer and the workmen.

RESOLVED: That the Federal Government is justified in entering upon a general policy of establishing forest preserves.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. The lumber companies are ruining our forests.

II. The loss of revenue to private interests is insignificant compared to the larger interests that are being sacrificed.

III. National forests benefit the entire nation.

RESOLVED: That the United States should still further restrict immigration.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. The free public lands of the United States are exhausted.

II. The labor problem will be intensified by additional immigration.

III. The character of the present immigration is largely undesirable.

III. The "closed" shop is against good public policy.
Outlook, Vol. 77, p. 631.

RESOLVED: That the Federal Government is justified in entering upon a general policy of establishing forest preserves.

NEGATIVE

I. The forests are now being cared for in a reasonably satisfactory way.

II. Government ownership would involve the sacrifice of large private interests.

III. These immense private interests ought not to be sacrificed to mere sentiment.

RESOLVED: That the United States should still further restrict immigration.

NEGATIVE

I. Increased immigration means increased strength and wealth for the country.

II. Immigration supplies the men to do the work that our present population will not do.

III. It is our duty to welcome the oppressed of other nations as long as we can take care of them.

RESOLVED: That the Monroe Doctrine should be continued as a part of the permanent foreign policy of the United States.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. History has justified the Monroe Doctrine.

II. The Monroe Doctrine is based on sound principles.

III. The Monroe Doctrine is demanded as a safeguard by the necessities of the future.

RESOLVED: That the United States should further restrict immigration by an illiteracy test.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. Immigration has been the cause of much of our political corruption.

II. Immigration, by its poverty and congestion, has intensified the problem of our cities.

III. Immigration has injured American labor by overcrowding the market with unskilled labor.

IV. The illiteracy test is the best test yet devised to restrict immigration.

RESOLVED: That the Monroe Doctrine should be continued as a part of the permanent foreign policy of the United States.

NEGATIVE

I. History has condemned the Monroe Doctrine as neither necessary nor expedient.

II. The Monroe Doctrine is not based on sound legal or ethical principles.

III. The Monroe Doctrine is a menace to the future peace and welfare of the United States.

RESOLVED: That the United States should further restrict immigration by an illiteracy test.

NEGATIVE

I. The advantages gained by free immigration in the past have far outweighed its disadvantages.

II. Paupers are now excluded; congestion is a problem of distribution, not of immigration.

III. Immigration has not reduced the wages of American labor; but it has enabled us to develop our natural resources, and carry out vast enterprises, which we could not otherwise have done.

IV. The illiteracy test would exclude many desirable immigrants and admit many undesirable ones. It is impracticable; existing evils can be remedied by better regulations.

RESOLVED: That the suffrage in the United States should be restricted by an educational qualification.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. Suffrage is a legal right, conferred by the Constitution: the same power that gave, can take away.

II. Universal suffrage has been the cause of many grave political and economic evils in our country.

III. An educational test is the best method of restricting the suffrage that has yet been devised.

RESOLVED: That the United States army should be increased to one thousand for each million of our population.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. The proposed increase is necessary to meet our increasing duties and responsibilities.

II. The proposed increase is not out of proportion to our increase of population, and should not be denied on the ground of expense.

III. Our standing army is not and never has been, a menace to our free institutions.

RESOLVED: That, in the United States, a working day should be eight hours only, in length.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. It would improve the quality without diminishing the amount of production.

RESOLVED: That the suffrage in the United States should be restricted by an educational qualification.

NEGATIVE

I. Universal suffrage for men has practically been the rule always in this country. To restrict it now would not be practicable.

II. Universal suffrage, in the main, has worked well, and it has a decided educational value.

III. An educational test would not remedy existing political evils, and would work great harm in practice.

RESOLVED: That the United States army should be increased to one thousand for each million of our population.

NEGATIVE

I. The proposed increase is unnecessary.

II. The proposed increase would involve vast additional expense.

III. Such a large standing army would be a menace to our free institutions.

RESOLVED: That, in the United States, a working day should be eight hours only, in length.

NEGATIVE

I. It would decrease production and lower wages.

II. It would enlarge the market for labor.

III. It would improve the standard of living of the workingman.

RESOLVED: That High Schools should not be supported by taxation.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. The work of the High School is unnecessary in a system of public education.

II. The High School benefits but a small proportion of the children of the community.

III. The High School is mainly for the educated classes.

RESOLVED: That the United States should annex Cuba.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. It would pay the United States financially.

II. It would give Cuba a stable form of government.

III. It would be a satisfactory solution of a vexatious problem.

RESOLVED: That organized labor should form a political party, and actively enter politics.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. The common interests of the members would make possible an effective political organization.

II. The laborers in the United States, at present, are, as a class, prosperous.

III. It is not certain that the time gained would be well spent by the workingmen.

RESOLVED: That High Schools should not be supported by taxation.

NEGATIVE

I. The High School is an essential part of a system of public education.

II. That the High School seems to benefit but a part of the community, is not the fault of the School but of the system.

III. The records show that the High School receives the children of all classes.

RESOLVED: That the United States should annex Cuba.

NEGATIVE

I. It would be an expensive policy for the United States.

II. It would incite continuous rebellion in Cuba.

III. It would violate a fundamental principle of our government.

RESOLVED: That organized labor should form a political party, and actively enter politics.

NEGATIVE

I. The varied interests and different political sympathies of its members would make any effective political organization impossible.

II. Such organization would increase the power of labor to attain its ends.

III. It would enable organized labor to take advantage of political conditions to advance its own ends.

RESOLVED: That the elective system of studies should be adopted in secondary schools.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. The elective system permits the individual pupil to choose the studies most advantageous to himself.

II. The elective system is a stimulus to better teaching.

III. The elective system develops decision and self-reliance in the pupil.

RESOLVED: That there should be a property qualification for the franchise in cities.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. It would tend to eliminate corruption from municipal politics.

II. It would disfranchise only an objectionable class of voters.

III. It is the most practicable method for purifying our municipal politics.

II. Such organization would hamper and weaken labor in the attainment of its ends.

III. The active participation of any one class of citizens in politics is opposed to the best interests of the entire country.

RESOLVED: That the elective system of studies should be adopted in secondary schools.

NEGATIVE

I. Teachers can select studies more wisely than the pupil at this stage of his course.

II. The elective system is a temptation to lower standards in class-room work.

III. Prescribed studies develop character in the performance of enforced duties.

RESOLVED: That there should be a property qualification for the franchise in cities.

NEGATIVE

I. It would not eliminate corruption from municipal politics.

II. It would disfranchise many who ought to have the right to vote.

III. The resulting evils would more than counterbalance the benefits.

RESOLVED: That secret societies should not be permitted in secondary schools.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. The tendency of such societies is toward immorality.

II. Such societies lower the standard of scholarship in the school.

III. Such societies are undemocratic and exclusive.

RESOLVED: That the annexation of Canada, by peaceable means, would be an economic advantage to the United States.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. It would remove all disputes and ill-feeling between the two countries, over the tariff.

II. It would open the Canadian market to the United States.

III. Annexation would increase the wealth and resources of the United States.

RESOLVED: That the abolition of the canteen from the United States army posts was wise.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. The canteen was offensive to large numbers of citizens.

RESOLVED: That secret societies should not be permitted in secondary schools.

NEGATIVE

I. Such societies, when properly supervised, greatly strengthen the moral tone of a school.

II. By furnishing the strong incentive of loyalty to the society, they elevate the scholarship of the school.

III. Such societies are the result of the fraternal spirit which exists everywhere in American life.

RESOLVED: That the annexation of Canada, by peaceable means, would be an economic advantage to the United States.

NEGATIVE

I. At present, tariff differences are not sufficiently serious to justify such radical action.

II. By gaining free admission for her products to the United States, Canada would gain the greater market.

III. The wealth and resources of Canada are counterbalanced by an enormous national debt.

RESOLVED: That the abolition of the canteen from the United States army posts was wise.

NEGATIVE

I. The soldiers now frequent undesirable drinking places beyond the post limits.

II. There is less drinking in the army now than there was under the canteen system.

III. It was morally wrong for the government to sanction the liquor traffic.

RESOLVED: That labor unions are advantageous to workingmen.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. The labor union enables the workingman to treat with his employer on terms of greater equality.

II. Labor unions have done much to raise wages.

III. Labor unions have elevated the workingman's standard of living.

IV. They have given to the workingmen, as a class, great political power.

RESOLVED: That the Sherman anti-trust law is hostile to the economic interests of the United States.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. Commercial combinations are the result of our material progress. They cannot be crushed.

II. Competition cannot be absolutely stopped by the trusts; nor can abnormal prices long be maintained.

III. Great commercial combinations are necessary to transact the business of the country. They are not an economic evil.

II. There is more drinking now than there was under the canteen system, and the attendant evils are intensified.

III. The canteen protected the soldier and improved the discipline of the camp.

RESOLVED: That labor unions are advantageous to workingmen.

NEGATIVE

I. Labor unions create antagonism between employer and employé.

II. Labor unions deprive men of the right to work, when, where, and for whom they choose.

III. Their inhumanity to workingmen who are not members of the union, is brutal and degrading.

IV. They have introduced into politics, class discrimination and class legislation.

RESOLVED: That the Sherman anti-trust law is hostile to the economic interests of the United States.

NEGATIVE

I. All commercial combinations doing an interstate business should be regulated by the government in the interests of the people.

II. The government should see to it that competition has a fair chance.

III. Government should see to it that the so-called trusts use honest methods, and do not become sources of corruption in politics.

LIST OF DEBATABLE QUESTIONS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO SUBJECTS

Political Economy

Resolved: That the policy of excluding Chinese laborers from the United States should be maintained and rigorously enforced.

Resolved: That cities should own and operate the public franchises.

Resolved: That the United States Government should own, and regulate the conduct of, the coal mines of the country.

Resolved: That immigration into the United States should be further restricted by law.

Resolved: That the United States Government should adopt an income tax as a part of its scheme of taxation.

Resolved: That the United States ought to undertake, by an extensive system of irrigation, to reclaim the arid lands of the west.

Resolved: That labor organizations promote the best interests of workingmen.

RESOLVED: That organized labor is a greater menace to the commonwealth than organized capital.

RESOLVED: That the United States Government should establish a parcels post.

RESOLVED: That the promotion of industry by subsidy, bonus, or bounty is proper and beneficial in the United States.

RESOLVED: That the State of New York should enact a penalty for the failure of a citizen to exercise the right of franchise.

RESOLVED: That industrial trusts are economically beneficial.

RESOLVED: That there should be complete commercial reciprocity between the United States and Canada.

RESOLVED: That high license combined with local option, is the best known method of dealing with the liquor problem.

RESOLVED: That the United States, and the several States, should establish courts for the compulsory adjustment of disputes between employés and private corporations which possess franchises of a public nature.

RESOLVED: That trade unions should be required to incorporate in accordance with law.

RESOLVED: That reciprocity is a wise and practicable policy for the encouragement of American trade.

RESOLVED: That the single gold standard in finance is for the best interests of the United States.

RESOLVED: That, in the State of New York, mortgages on real estate should be taxed.

RESOLVED: That the time has come when the United States should gradually abandon the protective tariff system.

RESOLVED: That, in the United States, all corporations engaging in interstate commerce should be required to take out a license, or franchise, from the Federal Government.

RESOLVED: That the best interests of England require that she adopt some form of the protective tariff policy.

RESOLVED: That a working day should be eight hours in length.

RESOLVED: That the Federal Government should have supervision over all insurance companies doing business in the United States.

RESOLVED: That there should be no tariff between the Philippine Islands and the United States.

RESOLVED: That an inheritance tax should be made a part of the Federal scheme of taxation.

RESOLVED: That our present tariff law should be revised downward.

RESOLVED: That the taxation of the incomes of private corporations is desirable and practicable.

RESOLVED: That in our tariff law, raw materials should be on the free list.

RESOLVED: That raw sugar should be admitted to the United States free of duty.

RESOLVED: That there should be a statutory limitation on the amount of property that may be bequeathed by one person to another.

RESOLVED: That in labor disputes, the boycott is a justifiable policy.

RESOLVED: That to own territory in the Tropics is economically disadvantageous to the United States.

RESOLVED: That there should be commercial reciprocity between the United States and the nations of South America.

RESOLVED: That the Federal Government should assume control of all the anthracite coal mines in the United States.

RESOLVED: That the Interstate Commerce Commission should have supervision over interstate passenger rates.

RESOLVED: That church property should be exempt from taxation.

RESOLVED: That labor-saving machinery has been an advantage to the laborer.

RESOLVED: That the Public Utilities Commission should have jurisdiction over all telegraph and telephone lines.

SOCIOLOGY

RESOLVED: That capital punishment should be abolished in the State of New York.

RESOLVED: That the administration of city government in the United States should be nonpartisan.

RESOLVED: That the deportation of all negroes in this country to our island possessions offers the best solution of the race problem.

RESOLVED: That it was for the best interests of the army to abolish the canteen.

RESOLVED: That the laws of marriage and divorce should be uniform throughout the United States, and that, to this end, Congress should, by constitutional amendment, be given exclusive jurisdiction thereof.

RESOLVED: That the George Junior Republic is entitled to the approval of the people of this State.

RESOLVED: That a married woman should have the sole control of her separate property.

RESOLVED: That curfew ordinances are desirable in the cities and villages of this State.

RESOLVED: That government by commission should be generally adopted by the cities of the United States.

EDUCATION

RESOLVED: That in a college conducted under Christian auspices, students should be required to attend church on Sunday.

RESOLVED: That intercollegiate athletics promote the best interests of colleges.

RESOLVED: That all studies in college above those of the first, or freshman, year, should be elective.

RESOLVED: That the college course should be reduced in length to three years.

RESOLVED: That the free elective system is the best available plan for the undergraduate course of study, it being understood that the free elective system is one based on the principle that each student should select for himself all his studies throughout his college course.

RESOLVED: That small school boards are more efficient than large ones.

RESOLVED: That military tactics should be taught in all secondary schools.

RESOLVED: That the honor system of examinations in colleges is desirable and practicable.

RESOLVED: That religion should be taught in all the public schools of New York State.

RESOLVED: That in public High Schools, secret societies should be prohibited.

RESOLVED: That the elective system should be adopted in secondary schools.

RESOLVED: That the prize system promotes the best interests of students.

RESOLVED: That the vaccination of pupils in the public schools should not be compulsory.

RESOLVED: That physiology, with special reference to the effect of intoxicants and narcotics on the human system, should be taught in all schools.

RESOLVED: That scholarships in college should be awarded on the ground of need and merit, irrespective of academic standing.

RESOLVED: That playing for money should debar an athlete from college teams.

POLITICS

RESOLVED: That the members of the Cabinet of the President of the United States should have seats

and the right to speak in the House of Representatives.

RESOLVED: That the caucus system of nomination should be abandoned.

RESOLVED: That, waiving the constitutional provision, the suffrage should be taken from the negroes in the southern States.

RESOLVED: That party allegiance is preferable to independent action in politics.

RESOLVED: That the Populist party pointed out a sufficient number of grievances to be remedied, to justify its existence.

RESOLVED: That United States Senators should be elected by direct vote of the people.

RESOLVED: That the present tariff laws of the United States should be revised by the Republican party.

RESOLVED: That the Republican party is entitled to the suffrages of citizens at the coming election.

RESOLVED: That the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States should be repealed.

RESOLVED: That contributions by corporations to campaign funds should be prohibited by law.

RESOLVED: That the system of direct primary nominations is preferable to that of nomination by caucus and convention.

RESOLVED: That the President of the United States should be elected by direct vote of the people.

RESOLVED: That women should have the right to vote.

RESOLVED: That postmasters should be elected by direct vote of the people.

RESOLVED: That the President of the United States should be elected for a term of six years, and should be ineligible for reëlection.

RESOLVED: That the House of Representatives should elect its standing committees.

RESOLVED: That organized labor should take no part in politics.

RESOLVED: That the United States should annex Cuba.

RESOLVED: That the United States should annex Canada.

MISCELLANEOUS

RESOLVED: That the United States should resist—if necessary by force—the colonization of South America by any foreign power.

RESOLVED: That a limited number of endowed newspapers would be for the best interests of the people of the United States.

RESOLVED: That the recognition of the Republic of

Panama by the Government of the United States was justifiable.

RESOLVED: That the trend toward centralization of power in the Federal Government is a menace to our free institutions.

RESOLVED: That the United States should retain permanent possession of the Philippine Islands.

RESOLVED: That Hamlet was insane.

RESOLVED: That a formal alliance between the United States and Great Britain for the protection and advancement of their common interests, would be expedient and desirable.

RESOLVED: That Bacon wrote the dramatic works attributed to Shakespeare.

RESOLVED: That in the State of New York, the system of trial by jury should no longer be used in the trial of civil causes.

RESOLVED: That in the State of New York, a unanimous verdict should no longer be required in jury trials.

RESOLVED: That in the State of New York, the grand jury system should be abolished.

RESOLVED: That in the State of New York, the office of coroner should be abolished.

RESOLVED: That Lincoln's plan of reconstruction was preferable to that of Congress.

RESOLVED: That the action of the school authorities of San Francisco regarding Japanese pupils was justifiable.

RESOLVED: That voting should be made compulsory in this State.

RESOLVED: That courts should have no power to issue "blanket" injunctions in labor disputes.

RESOLVED: That the dispersion, by the police, of assemblies of the people gathered to discuss their grievances, is a violation of the Constitution of the United States.

RESOLVED: That the power of the police to make arrests on suspicion should be restricted by law.

RESOLVED: That no picture should be placed in the so-called "Rogues Gallery" until the original subject thereof shall have been convicted of crime.

RESOLVED: That the recommendations of the simplified spelling board should be generally adopted.

RESOLVED: That vivisection is justifiable.

RESOLVED: That the proposed Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, permitting the Federal Government to levy a tax on incomes, "from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several states," would impair the rights of the individual states.

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